THE PROTESTANT

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THE HOLY CARTEL'S "PEACE PATTERN"

And other editorials by KENNETH LESLIE

In these tragic days not alone is evil done in the name of the good, indeed in the name of God, but much evil is accomplished through the agency of good people, yes, even godly people. Fascist hooks have been baited all over the world with words associated in the minds of godly people with sacred and holy things, words like "God", "moral law", "universal justice", "righteousness". The evil men who bait the hook care little what kind of bait they use provided they have carefully concealed the barbed point. These evil men are but drawing out the cruel implication of the predicament in which godly men find themselves, living off the wages of sin, not their sin but sin nevertheless. We are fully aware that it is false and malicious to lump all churchmen together as evil, to whatever church they may belong.

But it is high time free men spit the meal out of their mouths and spoke in some other terms than of "authority" and "plenary sessions" and got down to more fundamental concerns. The chief opportunity of Protestantism, one of its leaders says, is to be found in a "program of reconstruction of the Christian institutions of Europe." What an elfhorn challenge! If this American churchman would just strike a match he would see that the Protestant Reformation is being done in by Protestant ecclesiastical lust. Lust for ease, lust "not to be bothered." Many of our ecumenicists have become victims of the blood-devouring sickness of institutionalism, a disease dreaded beyond all others by Jesus of Nazareth and Francis of Assisi.

We go along with the Archbishop of York, who is not so enamored with ecumenicism that he fears to stand up and say: "We are fighting against cruelty, tyranny and treachery in their most detestable forms" and "that is why we cannot agree with His Holiness, the Pope, when he coupled together those who commenced the war with those who prolong it or when he suggested a negotiated peace. It is on moral ground that we refuse to negotiate with these wicked criminals who have brought such suffering to mankind." (AP, June 11, 1944.)

This does not mean that we are morally as clean as the Nazis are dirty, nor that we can forget Christian responsibilities for the whole period of betrayal leading to the war. But if the Christian betrayal was execrable in that period how horrifying it would be now, after the results of this betrayal have been written in scientific torture, slavery and mass death, to find us still deaf, dumb and blind as ever, seeing no evil, hearing no cry from the sanitary death vans (they are clean, they run on schedule, they are *not war-machines,* they operate legally within the framework of peace) now to find the great central powers of the Christian church collaborate with the cartels to place once more the name of God at the service of Mammon and to defeat once more the cause of the Nazarene carpenter. As each man has the right to speak as he dare in the name of God, so we speak and say that God will defeat the plans of these betrayers and their names shall be a cause of embarrassment to their children. It is well for the church that she has children—a remnant—who will remain firm in that self-abandoning faith whose only church is brotherhood (freedom *in equality*) and whose God is He whose world's inner meaning *is* that thing: brotherhood. What is the remnant? The Basque (Roman Catholic) Church which opposed Franco is part of it. There are others. But the main stream of Christian influence, at any rate in this hemisphere, today follows blindly the blind leadership of the church-state which has never found its stomach in the modern world and still kneels at those altars of force which even our secular world has abandoned. With force the Copts were destroyed, with force Spanish liberalism was destroyed. With force Mussolini's Fascism and the Roman Solution were brought to birth. With force (over the corpse of the Centrum) Hitler was empowered to dance on the grave of Europe. The trail of blood covers the earth, the blood of Man crucified not by the world but by His church and in His Holy Name.

But now to the pertinent fact: that fact is the "Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace" or, as it is sometimes called, "The Pattern for Peace."

At the outset let it be clearly understood that we do not impugn the motives of the "leaders of the three great faiths" as the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches (American Council) calls those who signed the Pattern for Peace.

A bulletin on the Pattern is put out from 70 Fifth Avenue, Room 1005, New York 11, N. Y. One of its two editors is the Jesuit, Father Edward A. Conway. It publicizes the Pattern, quoting the support of the Jesuit papers, *America* and *The Queen's Work*, which sent out 2,500 Patterns to Roman Catholic chaplains.

The supporters of the Declaration include such diametrically opposed churchmen as the Jesuit, Father Francis X. Talbot, Executive Editor of *America,* authoritarian to his finger tips, active supporter of Fascism, and the Methodist Bishop Oxnam. *The Christian Century* is quoted approvingly by Father Conway as having related the Pattern to the possible party programs:

> "The declaration . . . is picking up support in many quarters. Stranger things have happened in American politics than that such a church utterance should become the international program of both parties in this critical year. But few more wholesome things could happen."—(Bulletin No. 5, p. 2, 3.)

Through Bishop Oxnam the Pattern's principles are going to some 80,000 Methodist Church adult classes.

The head of Catholic Action in America, Archbishop Mooney, the same under whom Father Coughlin tested the American public for its sales resistance to the Fascist line and the Franco way, preached in Detroit Cathedral, March 13, 1944, making what Father Conway notes as "an emphatic call to action on the Pattern."

The pioneer mass meeting on the Pattern was held in Syracuse and was celebrated in a feature article in *America.*

Let us look at the Pattern. Each of its seven points is given a descriptive title. It might have been written a little more clearly but perhaps clarity was not the first consideration of those who drew it up. The first point is:

The Moral Law Must Govern World Order

1. *The organization of a just peace depends upon practical recognition of the fact that not only individuals but nations, states and international society are subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law which comes from God.*

The word "practical" catches our eye. "In practice" what will this point mean? For God's moral law comes to men *through men.* What men? Tillich? Bernanos? Bergamin? Hocking? Maritain? None of these is neutral in this war. Rufus Jones? Pius XII? They are neutral. From these names it can be seen that *within one communion,* even within the most unified, there is room for political opposition. When we move from one faith to another, however, we come upon irreconcilable differences between what Rabbi Isserman, for instance, thinks about God and what Bishop Ryan of Omaha thinks about God, or to take another instance, between what Frederick May Eliot thinks about God and what Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen thinks about God. The opinions of these gentlemen become of vital importance when they are to be translated into political action. Robert Cummins, as a Universalist, believes, as does Joseph Robbins, as a Baptist, that God's will may be known to men without mediation of any church or church official. On the other hand, every member of the Roman hierarchy who has signed this declaration believes that God's will is known to man through His church, which is their church and only their church. The Roman hierarchy when it signs this statement means by "the sovereignty of God" and "the moral law which comes from God" a sovereignty and a law which is made manifest by and through God's Vicar on earth, Jesus Christ in person, His Holiness, the Pope of Rome. I am not arguing here the validity of the various views of God when considered in a "practical" way. I am pointing out that when two men sign a single document and the document means two things, those of us who plan to live under the influence of this document had better look sharp and find out which meaning is to prevail.

As to those who signed this document it may be safely guessed that some signed knowing exactly why they signed it whereas the others signed in that vague fluff of sentimentality which many Protestants often mistake for virtue. Point two:

The Rights of the Individual Must Be Assured

2. *The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be set forth in all its essential implications in an international declaration of rights and be vindicated by the positive action of national governments and international organization. States as well as individuals must repudiate racial, religious or other discrimination in violation of those rights.*

Here it is repeated that states as well as individuals are under the authority of God. There is an equivocal declaration of the rights of minorities. I say equivocal because these rights are hypothecated to an "international declaration of rights" which is here not set forth and therefore may quite possibly be open to some such interpretation as was given to it in the concordat between Mussolini and Pope Pius XI. In that interpretation the Roman Catholic religion was made the sole religion of the state of Italy and church officials were appointed only after consultation with the Fascist government. I say equivocal further because of the all-out attack by the Roman hierarchy on Protestant missions in South America. Point three:

The Rights of Oppressed, Weak or Colonial Peoples Must Be Protected

3. *The rights of all peoples, large and small, subject to the good of the organized world community, must be safeguarded within the framework of collective Security. The progress of undeveloped, colonial or oppressed peoples toward political responsibility must be the object of international concern.*

"Colonial or oppressed peoples" have long known the worth of such hortatory expostulations and have long suffered the "protection" of "divinely" sponsored tyrannies. At best, point three is a pious wish. Point four:

The Rights of Minorities Must Be Secured

4. *National governments and international organization must respect an guarantee the rights of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities to economic live lihood, to equal opportunity for educational and cultural development, and t political equality.*

This repeats point three in another key. Looking back over the first four point we may notice that an "international society," an "international organization," a "organized world community" have been repeated in one form or another. A hint a to the objective is given in point five:

International Institutions to Maintain Peace With Justice Must Be Organized

5. *An enduring peace requires the organization of international institution which will develop a body of international law; guarantee the faithful fulfillmen of international obligations, and revise them when necessary; assure collectiv security by drastic limitation and continuing control of armaments, compulsor arbitration and adjudication of controversies, and the use when necessary of ade quate sanctions to enforce the law.*

Here we see the blooming of what has gone before: "the organization of inter national institutions" and "a body of international law." This can only mean one thing some sort of international parliament with representatives from the various nations o top of which shall sit a supreme court which will interpret the moral law of God an hand it down to the political representatives of the international parliament. This body is to have real power, for it will "guarantee the fulfillment of obligations." It will have teeth. There is nothing pacifistic about it. We wonder how Rufus Jones felt as he read this point. Out of this, point six and seven follow:

International Economic Cooperation Must Be Developed

6. *International economic collaboration to assist all states to provide a adequate standard of living for their citizens must replace the present economic monopoly and exploitation of natural resources by privileged groups and states*

A Just Social Order Within Each State Must Be Achieved

7. *Since the harmony and well-being of the world community are intimately bound up with the internal equilibrium and social order of the individual states steps must be taken to provide for the security of the family, the collaboration of al groups and classes in the interest of the common good, a standard of living adequate for self-development and family life, decent conditions of work, and participation by labor in decisions affecting its welfare.*

Nothing could be nicer, but the question still remains: *how is the content of the moral law which comes from God to be ascertained and how is it to be interpreted and by whom?* What is the standard of "adequacy" and "decency" in living and working conditions? What kind of class-collaboration is envisaged? It must be recalled that the Corporativist State is a program of class collaboration. Is that what this pattern is aiming at? On these questions hinge the whole value of this declaration. And since the signatories of the declaration must differ widely in their answers to these questions, we must ask another question. That question is: who framed this declaration? Who manipulated powerful phalanxes of Protestant and Jewish organizational leaders on either flank of the Most Rev. Edward Mooney, Archbishop of Detroit, Chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and his doughty colleagues in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the Most Rev. Samuel Alphonsus Stritch, Archbishop of Chicago, Vice-Chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and *Chairman of the Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points,* the Most Rev. Karl J. Alter, Bishop of Toledo, Chairman of the Social Action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and Honorary President of the Catholic Association for International Peace, and numerous archbishops and bishops, whose utterances prior to Pearl Harbor could hardly be said to favor the fortunes of the great struggle whose harvest they wish to gather?

These are the same prelates who objected and still object to Protestant missions in Latin America, who stopped and still stop the whole United Nations from inter-

fering with the hideous regime of Franco, who have agitated and still agitate day in and day out against Soviet Russia, who attack public education as public enemy number one and who claim state support for their church schools. These are the same prelates who just two years ago in concert with their colleagues in Latin America and Canada projected a church-ruled corporative state as the ideal future state for this hemisphere. These are the same prelates who have controlled and still control almost the entire press of the United States in its news of church-state relationships both here and abroad so that there is a genuine excuse for the general ignorance of how the church-state placed its chips against the people all through this peoples' war and of how the chips are being shifted now that the people are sure to win.

The Catholic Herald of St. Louis, Missouri, (June 9, 1944) speaks editorially thus:

> "Pius XII is probably the only realistic leader in the world today. Stalin clings to the belief that Communism is best for the people and will last forever; Churchill expects to retain the entire British empire; some of our appointed and elected officials are sold on the idea that, after 'unconditional surrender,' democracy will reign supreme in the world.
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> "The Pope in his plea for an early end to the war, speaks for the heart of humanity . . . he is the last voice on earth for moral principles and Christian decency in this war. It will be a cardinal error and a complete concession to the forces of blind secularism to exclude him from any peace conference."

Baffling as such "reasoning" may be we must take account of it. Throughout the war it has been stated by Vatican apologists that the Vatican was unable to take sides in this war, which was admittedly a war between decent people and foul beasts, because if it should take sides against the Nazis its German subjects would be physically endangered. This was of course a pragmatic excuse. It was a refusal to choose between right and wrong for reasons of expediency. So be it. But then how about the great hue and cry against modern civilization on the part of these same Vatican apologists on the grounds that modern civilization is relativist, pragmatist?

It is time to point out that the preacher of moral absolutism has been the greatest exemplification of relativism and therefore the Vatican is tragically enough "the last voice on earth for moral principles."

Russell Hill in a wireless from Vatican City to the *New York Herald Tribune,* June 9, 1944, says:

> "It is obvious that he [the Roman Pontiff] now believes the Allies will win the war and is taking great interest in the kind of peace that will follow, especially as regards Catholic countries. . . . In the past the Vatican has opposed revolutionary forces by working with the Mussolinis, Francos and Petains . . . today, however, the Vatican seems to have made a significant shift of policy, hoping to gain the same ends by collaboration with the Anglo-Saxon powers."

Words to notice in Mr. Hill's dispatch are *"hoping to gain the same ends by collaboration with the Anglo-Saxon powers."* Sinister words indeed. Let the people of Canada and of the United States, let the British people, the French and Spanish people, the Russian people, take notice, let them not underestimate the influence of the Papacy. One thing Mr. Hill forgets. On July 20, 1933, at Vatican City, Hitler's ace diplomat, Franz von Papen, signed with Cardinal Pacelli (now Pope Pius XII) a concordat between Germany and the Holy See after which von Papen became Papal Chamberlain, receiving the Grand Cross of the Order of Pius, and declared, "The Third Reich is the first power in the world not only to recognize but to translate into practice the high principles of the Papacy." Mr. Hill should have added Hitler to the others befriended by the Pope.

The same subjects of the Pope are still in Germany and therefore in danger from the Nazis should their Sovereign go over to the Allied side in too obvious a fashion. Since, however, responsible Germans have realized for some time that the jig is up and have been searching for some way to save what they can from their imminent defeat, it becomes possible for the Pope to serve them in a new way. He may, using what moral strength he can summon, persuade the Allies, when they arrive in Germany, to deal with elements friendly to what is generally known as legitimacy, which today means a mechanical toy monarch wound up and set going by big industrialists, in other words to frustrate all hopes for a people's Europe. It is an astounding fact that America has so lost the sense of history that it is on the point of supporting the old

crowns and tiaras which the people of Europe wish to get rid of. It is almost beyond belief that Bishop Tucker, for instance, President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church should allow himself to be used by Catholic Action to bring the cold dead hand of the past down upon the aspirations of the sorely tried peoples of Europe. But that is exactly what is happening.

THE PROTESTANT would prefer not to speak of "three great faiths." We would speak of one faith expressing itself in a fragmentary fashion in three great establishments of religion. Or we might more accurately speak of one great establishment of religion, the Roman Catholic Church, and two or three hundred Protestant and Jewish churches, chapels, meetings, synagogues, temples, and so forth. To speak of three great faiths betrays desire on the part of religious institutional life analogous to the desire of big business to cartellize itself. It is no accident that the financial foundation of the modern attempt to rationalize the church is to be found in cartel or big business. After all, it is natural for the businessman who has squeezed competition out of his line of business to want to streamline religion too into "three great faiths" and squeeze out any unknown beginners who might wish to enter this line of endeavor.

Chicago newspapers recently carried a story to the effect that representatives of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths were putting through a deal with the major radio networks to prevent "quackery" in religious radio programs. Professor Fred Eastman, of the University of Chicago, is reported to have stated at a gathering of clergymen that "ministers must take an interest in the excessive commercialism of radio for too many of the religious programs are conducted on a commercial basis in which the sponsors are not required to make an accounting of funds. The sponsors of these programs are not affiliated with recognized Protestant, Catholic or Jewish churches." Rabbi Louis Binstock, of Temple Sholom, is reported to have suggested that "before a radio station can accept such a program it should check to make sure the program had the ecclesiastical endorsement of a recognized religious organization." Is comment necessary? We are sure that neither Professor Eastman nor Rabbi Binstock have the remotest notion that in talking about "recognized" churches they are actually taking the first step in killing religious freedom which means to kill religion. This is surely no job for these churchmen and the thousands of churchmen in this country who think along these lines. Surely this is a job for fascists. Let not the godly men of America help fascism come here as the godly men of Europe helped fascism come to Europe! The same forces are here as were there. Who here will be the Mueller, who the Niemoeller? Who the Kaas, who the Faulhaber? The time of choosing cannot be put off. It is as you walk in the path immediately before you that you make inevitable the destiny which later will close upon you. Use your eyes and ears and brains as you walk with God. He gave them to you for that purpose and therefore he will not forgive willful ignorance. Don't play along with the tri-faith holy cartel!

We call upon the democratic forces within all three faiths, Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, to fight it now, before it is too late.

THE CATHOLIC NEWS AND THE PROTESTANT

In a leading editorial *The Catholic News* of July 29, 1944 comments about THE PROTESTANT as follows: "THE PROTESTANT when it started was endorsed, it claimed, by thousands of Protestant ministers." THE PROTESTANT began without a minister. Starting without endorsement by anybody and remaining today independent of any endorsement, THE PROTESTANT is *supported* by thousands of Protestant ministers and its Textbook Commission has been joined by 4,900 Protestant ministers. *The Catholic News* goes on to say we organized "a 'Textbook Commission' the purpose of which was to remove all references to the Crucifixion from books used in schools including Sunday schools." This would appear to be a purposeful misstatement. *The Catholic News* is aware that the purpose of the Textbook Commission is the same as the purpose of the great priest, Virgil Michel when he wrote in *Jesus Our Saviour* (p. 35): "When the rulers saw how much *the people loved Jesus,* they were jealous

and angry." His purpose and ours is to vindicate the love of the Jewish people for Jesus and to nail the lie that he was hated by his people.

The Catholic News in the same editorial hails the disapproval of THE PROTESTANT by "the four leading Jewish national civic protective agencies," citing the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, and the Jewish Labor Committee. Since Rabbi Wise, head of the American Jewish Congress has repudiated this citation THE PROTESTANT must take for granted that only the other three organizations oppose its work in behalf of democracy. We had already been forced to the conclusion that the American Jewish Committee was working with what is known as the Christian front. This does not mean Father Coughlin's "Christian Front" but the world wide association of certain Christian elements which once worked for the Corporativist State and which now work towards a retrograde peace. To make this clearer we quote a passage from the *National Catholic Almanac,* compiled by the Franciscan Clerics of Holy Name College, Washington, D. C., the chapter entitled "Church and State":

> "Primarily an institution devoted to the salvation of souls, the Church nevertheless performs many secondary functions, one of which is the preservation of the social order. She has always thrown her full weight against the destruction of society. Ceaselessly has she preached the duty of obedience to civil authority, respect for property rights and respect for human dignity.
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> "The religious, social and political upheaval of the sixteenth century, known as the Reformation (1517-1648), destroyed Christian unity, and bitter antagonisms arose. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the obvious opposition to Catholicism declined. Formerly the Church was reprobated for her form of worship, her sacraments and her credence in miracles. With the rise of the Protestant states to power and leadership and what was thought to be the decline of the Catholic countries, a more tolerant and patronizing attitude was assumed. The twentieth century, however, has brought many problems and difficulties, superficially blamable on the first World War but remotely traceable to the principles forming the basis of the anti-Catholic culture. Confused and bewildered at the blow struck their boasted superiority these forces have now been confronted with the definite Catholic political, social and economic philosophy which they have so long disregarded. That they will embrace the Catholic teaching seems too sanguine a hope. That there is need for *a united Christian front* [our italics] to oppose the attacks of a pagan Socialism and Communism has been pointed out by Pope Pius XI and Pope Pius XII in their encyclicals."

We were compelled by the well-known tie-up between the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Jewish Labor Committee to believe that these organizations were likewise lined up with that Christian front. We confess that it was a shock to discover that the American Jewish Congress appeared to have permitted itself to be associated with these other groups in such an unscrupulous attack upon an organization which works sincerely and effectively in the fight against anti-Semitism. We are extremely glad that the Congress has publicly adjusted its position.

In the last issue we described the "part to play" which Archbishop Mooney had outlined for prominent Jewish leaders of his acquaintance. This part to play is further underlined by *The Catholic News* in the second last sentence of the editorial abovementioned: "The Jewish organizations which have disapproved of THE PROTESTANT have weakened anti-Semitism and intolerance." *The Catholic News* in this sentence says that Jewish organizations have eased the pressure on the Jews by their attack on THE PROTESTANT. But how? Could it be that a deal has been made between the Christian front and some of the leaders of Jewish organizational life? It might be that the Christian front said to these leaders, "If you will just show your disapproval of THE PROTESTANT you will find that anti-Semitism will grow considerably less."

The final sentence of this not too subtle editorial reads: "By implementing their disapproval they will weaken them further." Now just what possible meaning can be given to the word "implementing"? It is one thing to disapprove of THE PROTESTANT but it is a much more important thing to implement that disapproval to make it count so that THE PROTESTANT will be disapproved out of existence. In other words, is this a clear invitation to Jewish leaders to destroy THE PROTESTANT if they wish to be saved from a dire fate, the fate for instance they suffered in Europe?

BOSTON WANTS EVIDENCE

Some of our readers may know about the work of the Regional Action Groups of ministers associated with THE PROTESTANT and its Textbook Commission. This work goes forward with increasing vigor and success in many of our large cities, notably in Chicago under the leadership of the Rev. Paul J. Folino. His story of the job done on the Gentile Cooperative League in Chicago is told in this issue. A group of Chicago businessmen are cooperating with the ministers in a most promising manner. The Action Groups in New York, in Philadelphia, and in Detroit are cooperating with the civil authorities in these cities.

Boston is an exception. Boston, freedom's birthplace and culture's habitation, has become a sewer of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism. Jewish and Negro boys are chased through the streets, lambasted, frightened out of their wits. A boy sits eating ice cream in a reputable restaurant in Cambridge, three or four Christian Front youths walk by his table and leave three or four cigarette butts sticking into his ice cream. A small matter? No, not a small matter for the simple reason that nothing is done about it. There is no recourse for the Jewish boy except to get home as quickly as he can and wait for something worse to happen to him. A Jewish boy is walking a couple of blocks on his way to the movies. Suddenly from nowhere appear fifteen Christian Front cherubs who pounce on him and leave him with a broken rib and lacerated eyes. He cannot get up, he must be carried to the hospital. A small incident? No. A most significant incident because nothing is done about it.

A Protestant minister living near Boston informs us that a police captain in that area told him this summer that every precinct officer in the country knew that the Jews were a thoroughly bad lot and had everything coming to them that was coming to them, plus that the Jews caused the war, dodged the draft, have all the money, and that before it is all over there will be bloodshed. "Yes," this police captain said, "check with any police station in the country. They understand." Such an understanding is just what the fascist doctor ordered. The state of Massachusetts is not the only state in this country rife with anti-Semitism. But it is one state where the disease, in the Boston area particularly, has come out on the skin. It erupts in a horrible rash and fills the air with the putrescent odor of incipient fascism. The disease is not only to be found in police precincts or in pulpits which scream "The Jews killed our Lord!" It is to be found in polite parlors, in pullman smokers, yes even among workers at the lathe. This is conversational anti-Semitism. It takes place only when no Jews are present. It is the most cowardly form of the disease and it leads directly to the other.

Some of our Regional Action Group ministers have been under investigation by the police of Boston, the same police under whose friendly batons Boston's Christian Front youth has been expressing itself. Rev. William Ellis Davies, of this office, together with four or five of these ministers had issued an "intemperate" statement about "pogroms" which they claimed were "planned" by organized anti-Semites for this summer. The statement was given to the press, but was not published. Davies wrote to Governor Saltonstall's Committee acquainting it with the Christian Front meeting in Boston early this year at which threats of this kind were made. "Pogrom" is a strong word, and these ministers look upon beatings of children as "pogroms." The language is admittedly inaccurate, but after all we will need new strange words for these new strange happenings. Our crime was using cruel words for cruel deeds. The deeds were not ours. But the police were sent to investigate us, not the Christian Front. The implication being that we were holding back something the police should know about. The police want to know from our ministers what evidence they have of anti-Semitism in Massachusetts and the Attorney General wants to know what evidence we have. He has written two letters to this office asking for it. Governor Saltonstall's Committee which was formed to deal with racial tensions in Massachusetts wants to know what evidence we have. It all looks like a campaign of intimidation to stop us from exposing and bringing to the public eye the Christian teaching which is the root of that anti-Semitism which needs no evidence or proof of its existence to anyone with eyes and ears and an ordinary sense as to what goes on about him.

Most anti-Semites are that way without knowing it. A friend of mine tells me he is no anti-Semite but he has never yet seen a decent Jew. Yes, this is literally true,

although the Jewish reader will find it difficult to believe. Anti-Semitism is exactly like a plague. Once it gets a real foothold it takes heroic efforts to root it out. Education won't do it. Education will prevent the *next* outbreak. But, in order even to begin the process of education, it is necessary first that those *respectable Christian elements in our society in which anti-Semitism is thoroughly at home be confronted with their responsibility.* Christian responsibility has now been admitted by Archbishop Mooney of Detroit. We commend him for it most highly. Nobody is in a better position to know about this than he. We pray that some great Lutheran minister may equal Archbishop Mooney's humble confession in this regard. In our survey of Christian pedagogical literature we have found much prejudicial material in the books of certain Lutheran synods. The point is that *these eminently respectable Christian elements in our society are the same elements who in some of our cities virtually control our civil agencies including the police.* And if these elements do not yet understand the disease which infects them then how can we expect them to take protective measures through the civil agencies which they control? The Governor's Committee in Massachusetts and the Attorney General's office in Massachusetts and its police are a case in point. If their instinct of self-preservation were sharper they would long ago have taken steps to eradicate this poison from the social body. *They are so contaminated that they are unaware of their own condition,* and so they look with a jaundiced eye at the doctor who approaches their malady realistically. The fact is, they haven't yet made up their minds that they want to be cured. We operate on the premise that *the inarticulate common people of Massachusetts will be on our side when they understand what we are doing.* The Governor's Committee is composed of respectable Christian people some of whom may be unaware of the uses to which they are being put. A member of the Massachusetts hierarchy is on that Committee along with a one-time member of the staff of the American Jewish Committee.

We are anixous to collaborate with all men of good will who honestly want to eradicate this disease. But we cannot help wondering about the good faith or good sense of any group of men in the state of Massachusetts today who yearn for evidence of anti-Semitism.

SOFT PEACE FRONT

With reference to the soft-quick-peace movement sponsored widely at present in this country it is being said that American Protestants and Roman Catholics join to sound the voice of moral authority as "a brake to violence." Two "authorities" are usually quoted, the Papacy and *The Christian Century* which has suddenly bloomed as co-worker with Pius XII for a false peace.

It should be pointed out that there is no voice of American Protestantism institutionally speaking, unless it be the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Even the Federal Council would hardly be so rash as to invoke the authority of American Protestants in the advocacy of a soft peace. It would be equally impossible for any institutional voice of Roman Catholicism to deliver American Roman Catholics in a similar advocacy. Too many Catholic and Protestant boys are giving their lives to beat the Nazis.

These so-called authorities represent, in the political realm, only a very small proportion of those who belong to their several religious communions. The editors and editorial board of THE PROTESTANT, who represent a considerable portion of Protestant thought in this country, would certainly oppose any "brake" on the great victory of the peoples of this earth over their common enemy just at the moment when that victory is in sight. We say without equivocation that those who oppose finishing this war belong among our enemies in this war. They would paralyze with a sickly and callous sentimentality the hands of the people which at last reach for the throat of their destroyer whose like has not been seen in all of history's bloody record.

The "moral authority" invoked by these sentimentalists is based on a false pity serving selfish ends. We repudiate it and its presumption to speak for religion.

CHICAGO ACHIEVEMENT

Editorial by PAUL J. FOLINO

FOUNDED upon the principle that the 125 million Gentiles in America prefer to business with Gentiles, the Gentile Cooperative Association launched its campaign last January to divide the American business community along religious and racial lines. In an editorial, July, 1944, in the *Gentile News*, monthly publication of the Association, Eugene R. Flitcraft, founder and publisher, said:

"America is the land of the free. Now in wartime, unity is the by-word. The newspaper and our association stand for unity—unity of 125,000,000 Gentiles. There is no place in this country for groups, which at every turn, try to undermine honest efforts of the majority for national unity by taking over high places in Government and business of the nation."

Deliberately and openly, this organization is driving a wedge of racial and religious antagonism into the heart of American unity. By innuendoes and subtle phrases it accuses the Jewish community of dominating the governmental and business life of this country.

Like so many of his cohorts, the founder of the Association denies that he is anti-Semitic. He is not against any group or any person, but he believes he speaks for the Gentiles of America. The American way of life is the Gentile way of life, and since Gentiles alone have built America's cultural and economic life, they should be in absolute control of every phase of our national life.

The major efforts of the Association have been centered around the obtaining of Gentile businessmen to list their business in the Association's so-called *Gentile Business Directory.* The underlying assumption which guides this whole approach to American businessmen is to play upon their own self-interest, and the possible latent anti-Semitism in the hearts of many business people.

> "When you buy from a Gentile or do business with a Gentile business or professional man or woman, you are aiding the Gentile Movement."

According to statements and reports given in the *Gentile News* the Association has already listed hundreds of business firms throughout the state of Illinois and the entire Middle West. To read these reports, one would get the impression that one is intended to get, that businessmen are swallowing this proposition, hook, line and sinker and welcoming it with open arms. Mr. Flitcraft did not spend years in the advertising game for nothing.

The May issue of the *Gentile News* gave the Chicago Regional Action Committee of THE PROTESTANT its first real opportunity to help in the fight against the Association. On the editorial page, in a very prominent place, were these words:

GO TO CHURCH

> "Gentiles visiting Chicago will find consolation and are always assured of a hearty welcome at Sunday church services. The following list is published for the convenience of Gentiles who desire to worship at the church of their faith."

Following this introductory statement, implying that the churches listed would permit none other than Gentiles to worship with them, was a list of some fifty Chicago churches, many of them the better known and more influential churches of the city. They had been selected at random, and without permission of the churches listed.

Immediately upon seeing this list, the Committee sent out a letter stating the nature of the Association, and calling the attention of the pastors of these churches that their churches had been listed as churches which supported the program of the Gentile Association. The replies received were as we expected. No one church had ever been asked permission, and all were of one voice in their condemnation of such an organization. This material was shown to the Attorney General's office and we were given to understand that this was the kind of evidence his office was seeking. They needed to determine that the public of Chicago was incensed over such an organization, and our letters from the clergy indicated that many of the leading churchmen of Chicago were angry, not over the tactics alone, but over the basic principles and purposes of the Association.

The next move of the Committee was to contact over 500 of the leading businessmen of Chicago to obtain their general reaction to such an organization, and incidentally to warn them of the existence of such an un-American outfit. The responses received were

eyond our expectations. Scores of replies were received and all were of the same tenor. They were decidedly not in sympathy with such organizations, nor would they give any of them the least bit of support. "They were un-American," "anti-Christian," "a threat to our business freedom," "their policies directly aid our Fascist enemies."

With the proof in our hands, we turned the evidence we had gathered over to the *Chicago Sun* which published much of our material in the August 7 issue, quoting excerpts from several letters from clergymen:

> "My church is open to all people. I am writing the Gentile Cooperative League to remove my church from the list of those to which only one class of people can go. I am in no sense interested in driving wedges between peoples of any race, creed, or color."
>
> "Accept my warm commendation of your efforts to stop the spread of this movement. Surely the Catholic organization and the war veterans' organizations would be glad to rally to your support if approached."
>
> "This is no time to spread any kind of disaffection; and certainly the Christian church should be the last to have the reproach of anti-Semitism."
>
> "For many years our church has been interested in furthering close cooperation and harmonious understanding among people of all faiths, races and classes. Any attempt to spread prejudice we consider both un-American and anti-Christian. Any organization which spreads hatred against any of our religious or cultural groups or minorities is giving aid to our Fascist enemies."

The Committee is convinced that beneath the superficial veneer of innocence that is pretended, this organization has but one major purpose—and that is to generate and foster as much hatred of the American Jewish Community as is possible. To be sure, as Marvin Ferree, Vice-President and editor of the *Gentile News,* disclosed to the *Chicago Sun* at the time of his resignation from the Association:

> "As long as I was connected with the Association there was no outward sign of anti-Semitism. In none of the four issues of the *Gentile News* I edited was the word 'Jew' used once."

"There was no outward sign" of anti-Semitism, but anyone with any amount of sense at all can see the feeble camouflage of "For Gentiles and the Gentile Way of Life." In an organization such as this you have an example of anti-Semitism on a refined and more polished plane. Not by open attack, name-calling, mud-slinging is their anti-Semitism propagated, but by an approach that makes use of all the techniques of modern advertisement.

Republican in politics, as was evidenced by the great amount of space given over to Dewey and his Convention remarks, Fascist in its anti-Semitism, divisive of American unity in time of war, the Gentile Cooperative Association is one of the more refined Fascist organizations working in the American community under the cloak of respectability and Americanism. For all of its refinements and the respectability of its technique, it is none-the-less a dangerous group of Americans who have dedicated themselves to dividing the American people into two major camps, Gentile and Jew. They have not yet reached the stage in their development to be as barbaric as their Hitler counterparts in killing the Jew outright. They will use finesse and starve them to death.

The Clergy of Chicago are vehemently angry, and awakened to the inherent dangers to democracy which reside within the principles and purposes of such associations. The Chicago Regional Action Committee feels secure in its belief that the entire community of Chicago is aroused, and we have received word from a sufficiently large cross-section of the business community to believe that any future organizations of this character will have hard going. Any groups contemplating similar activities will think twice before starting in Chicago again. The Protestant clergy once aroused can be a powerful army for righteousness and good will!

THOUGHTS FOR THE MORROW . . .

Editorial by RUTH NANDA ANSHEN

Nothing would be more dangerous for the future than a political antagonism which could lead to a military conflict between the bourgeois and socialist ways of life. The

military alliance between the Anglo-Saxon peoples and the great Russian people, who have performed such miracles that freedom may survive, must continue after the war as a peace alliance. All hope depends upon an accord between democracy and socialism, between the rights of the individual and the claims of society, on a new and creative synthesis of freedom and equality within the private life of each nation and in the international community. Democracy and socialism are not opposed to each other, they are not contradictories and it would be a crime against civilization, a violent, fatal blow to the future of mankind, if they were to be considered or artificially made mutually exclusive or antagonistic. Only their reconciliation can bring mankind what it needs most and what all peoples of the world long for most—above and beyond anything else—the right to live, to have peace, freedom and justice.

It is for the creative possibilities of men and women that we, the people of the earth, must fight, and must demand, when we finally tear the prey out of the Nazi paw, the opportunity to rebuild the world on the basis of integrity and exalt the sacred values high enough this time that they may never again be overthrown. We must desire not to be shrewder, but wiser.

Our capitalist system if it is to survive must resuscitate the ideals of equality which lie at the source of both Christianity and Communism. Contemporary man has manifested a deep and vital need and demand for equality, equality between nations, between classes, between individuals. The formal political or juridical authority and equality of the nineteenth century no longer suffice. Contemporary man demands equality of economic opportunity, equality of economic resources or in Lincoln's immortal words, "*equal* access to the sources of wealth and power."

The authority of the people as well as the liberty of the people will be the keynote of the future world. Liberty and authority will achieve a new synthesis, a synthesis made valid by a hierarchy of true values compatible with man's nature and needs. Our task is to reinterpret the concepts of liberty and authority in the social and economic spheres. The new world will lay more stress upon responsibility than on rights, on services to be rendered to the community rather than on benefits and profits to be derived from it. In the nineteenth century it was necessary to break down the false barriers precluding development and expansion. The emphasis on the rights of man at that time was proper to an age in which the social structure was suffering from excessive rigidity. Such a condition no longer prevails. Society is now confronted with the opposite danger, that of falling apart.

The problem is complicated by an almost exclusive recognition of the rights of nations which is the modern counterpart of the incomplete nineteenth-century emphasis on the rights rather than on the responsibilities of men. An international consciousness and allegiance must be developed as well as an international responsibility.

World organization is inevitable. There is no other choice, there will no longer be new lands to which to flee from oppression, as there were for the Pilgrims of 1620 or the German revolutionaries of 1848. Therefore it is vitally necessary for all of us to understand the true nature of our task and of our destiny. The too obvious preparations of isolationists (with their apprehensions that Hottentots may drink milk and that there may be a TVA on the Danube) to return the world to the "good old days" will never be carried out. Our only hope for the survival of our civilization is to accept the responsibility for insuring jobs, to maintain a high level of production and consumption, to establish new forms of joint private and government partnership (such as, for example, urban redevelopment, housing, transport, agricultural rehabilitation), to guarantee medical and health care for all, regardless of income status and on a basis compatible with the self-respect and the dignity of the recipient, to provide equal access to general education and to specialized education, to make changes in taxation which will prevent unnecessary burdens for the people, to prevent the rise of new industrial oligarchies and international cartels, to uphold the right of collective bargaining, to maintain the fair share of the farmers in the benefits of an economy of plenty, and finally to cherish those deep resources of the spirit without which all these blessings would be a mere barren desert of empty materialism.

The historical moment is here. The correction of injustice everywhere on earth is now possible. Patronage to fascist and totalitarian forces must be ended without compromise; immediate expediencies must be abandoned. Now, at once, not after the war, must we begin to promote liberty and justice. There lies before us the opportunity

to create a new society in which men, women and children can grow invigorated by a freedom based on an organic and pluralist concept. Justice and love must be the very foundations of society which, in order to fulfill itself, must place truly human advantages above all technical progress. The fact that they do not as yet exist is no less our guilt than the enemies'. At the beginning of the fifth century when the splendor of Rome had been shattered by the onslaught of the barbarian hordes, when Alaric had besieged and attacked the Eternal City, when the universalism of Roman law and order was quickly dissolving, the poet Rutius Claudius expressed once again in dithyrambic verse the glory that had been and, though dying, still was Rome's. The unique greatness of the past lived once more before the nostalgic eyes of a generation which felt the earth crumbling under its feet. Similarly we find in the thirteenth century when the medieval order of church and empire was breaking up forever and new forces were rising in the territorial states, in the trading and manufacturing cities, in secular poetry and science, the theories of the universal domination of the Pope and Emperor reasserted themselves in a far more intransigent and triumphant manner than during the period of their real life and power. Then in the late but violent afterglow of the imperial concept, Dante wrote his *De Monarchia,* the immortal swan song of that dying universalism. The *crise de la conscience Europienne* was under way and in the eighteenth century religious wars seemed as obsolete as national, political and economic wars may seem to man in the twenty-first century. May we not say that this twentieth century is marked by a violent afterglow from the era of dominant, totalitarian nationalism, of suppression with a mohammedan fatalism of individual freedom and collective responsibility; and may not the twenty-first century witness the final awakening, despite our ardent custodians of the status quo, of international community and law?

THE ADVERTISEMENT SAYS . . .

By T. SWANN HARDING

. . . to succeed, advertising must promote fear, build up inferiori complexes, advise emulation of the rich, bolster herd instinct . . .

THESE days when we are tossing billions around as carelessly as an inebriate zoot-suiter handles nickels and a slot machine on Saturday nights, the cost of advertising has a mild, modest, fugitive sort of interest. In 1939, for instance, it was estimated that this Nation spent $1.6 billions on advertising of all kinds. That was 2.3 percent of the national income.

At that time Government spent about $2 billions on education and the Federal Government appropriated around $164 millions for scientific research. In 1941 all advertisers spent the sum of $304,260,562 on advertising in general magazines, farm journals and over the radio only; the figure was $310,233,-493 in 1942 and in 1943, the second year of war, it rose to $407,147,265.

In 1942 about 400 firms spent more than $100,000 each and 50 spent more than a million dollars each on these forms of advertising. In 1942 more than 500 firms spent $100,000 or more each and 70 spent a million or more. The costs and extent of advertising are increasing rapidly as we fight for our very existence, so we are told. A few details are revealing. They relate to 1943.

A soap company spent the huge sum of $15,509,236 on advertising in magazines, farm journals, and over the radio. That topped the list. A food corporation came next with $11,730,650. A drug firm stood fourth and a milling concern sixth. Manufacturers of foods and pharmaceuticals, cosmetics and soaps peppered the list down to the point where it tapered off with a soup company's $2,811,-895.

No aspersions need be cast. Anyone can read the list and produce his own reflections. It is important to remember that we consumers pay all these advertising costs. At peace we pay them as a mark-up in the advertised goods we purchase. During war the costs are paid by us more directly in the sense that these expenses for forcing sales may be charged off before the excess profits tax supervenes. It may be said that Government, since it has financed so many plants, itself pays the costs of wartime advertising quite directly.

Do we get good value in return for our expenditure in advertising?

To be specific: Is it worth nearly six million dollars a year to us to learn the limited virtues of a group of overrated and possibly harmf home remedies? Is it worth nearly four m lion to be acquainted with the superlati qualities of one cigarette or nearly three m lion to have the necessity for chewing a ce tain gum repeatedly brought to our attentio Are the expensive trick foods of a great co poration so incomparable that we should b asked to spend nearly twelve million dolla a year merely to hear about them?

To be more specific we might consult th official records of the Federal Trade Commi sion dealing with the false and misleadin advertisements of firms we often regard a quite outstanding in integrity and publi service, or those of the Food and Drug Admin istration dealing with false and misleadin label claims of foods, drugs, and cosmetic Even the most distinguished trade marks ar no guarantee of high quality at low price, o even of good quality or advertising integrit This form of fraud continues during war too

Much wartime advertising consists of pur prestige appeals, some of them extremely of fensive to our boys at the various fronts. Thes patriotic affirmations about the success o particular companies in filling their quotas fo a good profit are often in extreme bad taste The self-praise often extends to the marvels o public service the company expects to per form in the post-war miracle world. The mai function is institutional and the desire to keep the company name and trademark before th public.

This sort of thing can extend very far. I was shown by the Truman Committee, fo instance, that one airplane corporation spen nearly $12,500 eulogizing its dive bomber in advertising, whereas it had failed to pro duce a single plane satisfactory for comba use. That firm placed some $331,250 worth of advertising in 1942, planned to more than double this in 1943 and, since the government has in the main financed new plant capacity in this industry, it paid directly for such misleading advertising information.

No wonder a considerable group of practical-minded professors of economics became so distressed with advertising early in 1943 that they appealed to the impractical and idealistic industrialists please to lay off in common decency. These hard-headed professors were shocked at a waste of materials, power, transportation, and skilled labor which impractical businessmen incited to accelerate

he purchase of consumer goods while this ostered inflation.

Intellectuals and professors have this bad abit of getting down to brass tacks which lways shocks and astounds industrialists and usinessmen, accustomed as they are to deal vith idealistic theorizing and quack social cience. Quite naturally these idealists came ack stressing the close relationship between dvertising and a curious mythological entity hey always call "The American System," which ears almost no relation whatever to the real American system.

Naturally they accused the realistic professors of living in an unreal world. This is he first instinct of those who themselves deal vith unreality when confronted by individuals who assault them with disturbing facts. The businessman advertisers insisted that our igh standard of living was attributable purely o the American system of private enterprise which itself rested squarely upon the firm oundation of advertising. Progress must not e endangered by the spread of such pernicious doctrines as that to the effect that uch wartime advertising was wasted effort.

For calamity and catastrophe would be our ortion without the protective hand of advertising. Our machinery for the dissemination of intelligence would be maimed and rippled. Crackpot notions would replace our ood literature and our fine educational institutions, both of which depended almost entirely upon advertising for support. Gestapo onfires would follow and we should all go o perdition if the hem of the garment of the pirit of Advertising was so much as touched.

History shows, however, that what these dealists call the American system, was mulcting George Washington and his armies during the revolution and misbehaved inconsiderately and to its own monetary profit during he Civil War and every one that followed. History shows that we did attain a high tandard of living by permitting private enterprise to mine our rich natural resources and harge nothing off for depreciation. We even ut the railroads in business originally by iving them public lands equal in area to he State of Texas.

The American system about which industrialists prate in their fiction was never a self-ufficient entity. It was based upon public rants, subsidies, tariffs, and the process of nloading social obligations on the public or he state. It never paid the entire cost of istributing the goods it produced. It never aid the social and economic cost of educating, rowing, and housing its own workers. It epended heavily on governmental communication and transportation systems and on reerves and low-interest loans.

If advertising sustained this system that is scarcely to the credit of advertising which is, however, neither good nor bad per se. Advertising may serve to make us think that an oral cosmetic kills germs and prevents disease or it may foster the buying of War Bonds and the conflict against inflation.

A distinction should always be made between purely informative advertising and advertising designed merely to promote brands and differentiate products. The latter constitutes an expensive form of competition for buyers in what is essentially a closed market anyway, and the concern that can keep the racket up longest often turns itself into a profitable monopoly.

Good advertising facilitates consumer choice of durable or fine-quality products, sold at reasonable rates. It is truthful. It provides reliable information. But when the consumption of even desirable goods is stimulated beyond the quantity beneficial to consumers, or the quantity that can be produced during total war; or when the purchaser is stimulated to buy inferior goods in lieu of superior but less extensively advertised goods, the result is evil socially and economically.

It is true that advertising, for instance, renders many cosmetics and pharmaceutical preparations available in large quantity at prices below those possible under conditions of small-quantity production. But should the content and packaging of a cosmetic costing twelve cents sell for seventy-five cents or a dollar even then? Is a product indispensable when demand has to be forced by high-pressure national advertising? The real question is: Do we need the product at all—at any price?

It is undoubtedly true, however, that the American public has been so conditioned to action via advertising that the services of experts in advertising and of advertisements became imperatively important to the bond program, the food program, the manpower program and many others the Government was carrying on. If people were to be reconditioned, this could not be undertaken in the midst of total war.

Advertising experts probably know more today about influencing people and changing their attitudes than any other group of experts. Naturally this knowledge was put to use. A War Advertising Council was formed and the Office of War Information placed various government agency clients in contact with the advertising talent best equipped to achieve the end they had in mind. In this sense advertising rendered real wartime service.

You can well argue that there ought to be

some different way of influencing Americans to assume patriotic obligations than by putting the advertising manager of a big private concern right down in a government department. But, given the manner in which Americans have carelessly permitted themselves to become accustomed to take action in response to advertising appeals, the argument simply does not hold water.

If Americans are to be less influenced in the future by specious and misleading advertising they have a great deal to learn. A fundamental process of re-education must be undertaken and wartime offers little opportunity for such an effort.

In 1934-35, for instance, a research worker analyzed more than three hundred booklets circulated by various advertisers. These were often used in schools and colleges for reference. Yet they rated low in content of useful factual information. Most of them contained false, unsubstantiated or questionable statements; some statements in about two hundred of them were misleading.

Generally speaking, the author's name was not given; the date of publication seldom appeared. Five-sixths of the booklets failed to mention the source of the data used. Most of them were prejudiced; they were also confusing, and tended to block efficient purchasing by their readers.

If, as many advocates of advertising assert, our press is endowed and subsidized by advertising, it palpably is not free. That both our publication and educational industries are sharply affected by the nature of advertising and the placement of advertising expenditures admits of little doubt. This is most unfortunate because of the close relationship between advertising, monopoly, and the desire to maintain the status quo.

Recently an English writer called advertising "capitalism's fifth column," with no small degree of accuracy. Like all other means of forcing sales, advertising is a by-product of an irrational social organization which has signally failed to distribute purchasing power either equitably or efficiently.

When the mass of consumers can afford to buy, no seller of desirable goods has difficulty disposing of them. But during peace our advertisements are aimed essentially at people in the income classes of $5,000 a year or more. They make relatively little attempt to interest the greater and poorer part of our population knowing it lacks purchasing power to cover even bare necessities.

In short the function of our pre-war advertising was to cope with a sales situation wherein the needs of the well-to-do had been satisfied and those of the great masses could not be. Hence an itch for non-essential expe diture had to be aroused in the former, becau incentive to buy among the latter could me only diversion of basically insufficient spen ing power.

Moreover purchasers were unable to dete mine the value of most objects offered f sale and these also lacked endorsement by a responsible social or scientific authority. Tha however, is the socio-economic milieu adve tising feels obligated to perpetuate.

Hence it tends to promote news conduci to expenditure and to confidence in manufa turers and to suppress that conducive to d minished buying or to social change. Th explains why the advertiser's boy at the fro always longs plaintively for a place back hom that remains unchanged in any detail fro what it was when he left it.

Therefore advertising prefers a communi wherein competitive acquisitiveness is d veloped at the expense of social consciousnes This is a community, conditioned as ours ha been to respond to uncommendable emotion appeals, which explains why they have s often to be used to forward our war progran and campaigns.

Hence advertising lacks interest in inte lectual integrity, moral purpose, and willin ness of citizens to subordinate immediate sati factions for future plans. This is quite apa from the men who write and sponsor adve tising; both may have high personal integrit

But, to succeed, advertising must promo fear, build up inferiority complexes, advis emulation of the rich, bolster herd instinc and create the conviction that personal acqu sition of material possessions miraculousl produces the good life.

To argue that the advertisements make pe ple want things, work harder to get them, an thus increase national wealth is beside th point. For workers can do very little of tha in a society where industrial profit is largel maintained by restricting output, and wherei individuals have little or no control over th rate of production or the quality and utilit of goods produced.

What happens after the war? Shall w again invest our faith in the impractical an other-worldly business and industrial magi cians who ran the Nation in the twentie produced the Great Depression of the thirtie and failed to realize that Government plan ning saved capitalism after 1933? They d not even now know that government-con trolled economy, not "free private enterprise has made our wartime production program success.

If we want things changed it is not up t industry, nor to government, nor to educator alone. *It is up to us.*

HOLBROOK LIBRARY
PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

HALL WE EMULATE HITLER?

PAUL PHELPS MORAND

T PRESENT indications are that Russia will not intervene in European affairs cept by the force of its example and the sson of its successes and its failures. But ere exists the possibility of another interention, coming from overseas. Two or ree years ago it would have seemed ridicuus to mention it. Today, unfortunately, it ould be silly to ignore it.

Particularly in Washington, and in Lonon as well, important forces and interests dubitably favor such intervention, the ape and methods of which one can already deavor to divine on the basis of a number historic precedents. After the fall of the eich in 1918, Allied troops attacked Russan territory at several points, and the Aled governments kept the Reichswehr alive d encouraged it to attack in the direction the Baltic. Perhaps this is ancient history -but very recent history also records the e of economic and armed force in favor Darlan, Peyrouton, Lemaigre Dubreuil d other Fascists of whom it was well own that in a free election they could in not even the shadow of power; these ntry would have polled less than ten per nt of the votes. At this very writing we n see those forces intervening in Italy ward the same end, refusing to take the ajority of the people into account. When e French Government of Algiers and the presentatives of the Underground ask for me assurance that this will not happen Paris once the Allied troops have marched rough the Arc de Triomphe, they meet nly with rebuffs or equivocations. Thus would be foolish not to reckon with the ossibility of Anglo-Saxon intervention on e continent of Europe in favor of people ho resemble the Fascists of Rome and erlin as closely as King George of Greece sembles King Peter of Yugoslavia.

Forecasts of the reaction of Europe in that vent can be made from two different standoints. The first, shared by Wall Street and l those who, lacking all feeling, esteem nly the golden calf, is that the starving uropeans (and it is true that many are arving, and many are starving to death) ill submit to any ignominy and even slavery order to obtain food. I regard this as a commercial and heartless view of the future, and I have too much respect for those suffering people, for the families of the hostages, for the Maquis, for the women who risk their lives to save an American aviator who parachutes down after having set fire to the factory in which they were working and to the houses in which they were living—I have far too much respect for them to consider this Moloch-inspired theory for even one moment. If I believed it to be correct I would no longer be a Christian, but a candidate for admission to the cult of Wotan.

If the people must choose between the local Nazis who are in the pay of another country and the Communist patriots who have proved their courage and loyalty in thousands of acts of sabotage and attacks on German officers, they will obviously choose the Communists and will accept them as brothers and heroes. In that event Communism will immediately be established in Europe, and any attempt at setting up an Anglo-Saxon Gestapo would serve only to produce martyrs, as happened in the days of Nero and the early Christians. The Anglo-Saxon countries would then quickly acquire a reputation that even the shade of Hitler would not envy; it is, moreover, hardly likely that Anglo-Saxon soldiers will long consent to play a role that involves the killing of patriots on the barricades and the shooting of hostages in prison yards. Even if they were willing to do this their mothers would not let them. And if they should be willing to do it, they would be beaten.

That is why I regard the immediate establishment—and I stress the word *immediate* —of a Communist regime throughout Europe as possible only in the event of financial, economic and military intervention on the part of the Anglo-Saxon nations in a manner as unscrupulous as we have seen at Vladivostok, Algiers and Naples. Europe is ready to play fair and to act in an adult manner. It has gone through enough suffering to have earned the right to be free, and it is against the interests of those who have not shared that suffering to endeavor to reduce Europe to slavery. Hitler, who tried it, already stands on the verge of failure.

▪ ▪ ▪

General de Gaulle obviously lacks faith in democracy. He doesn't seem to believe that our government represents the will of the French people.

EUGENE RASKIN.

RUSSIA THROUGH HER PRESS

By BORIS SKOMOROVSKY

Would you like to read Russian newspapers in order to know your Russian Ally better?

We have recently heard that Vice-President Henry A. Wallace learned Russian in a very short time and that he now reads and speaks this language fluently. But as the man in the street cannot easily match the Vice-President's performance, we shall peruse Russian dailies and give a Russian Press digest.

If an American glances over a French, Italian, or Spanish paper, he will be able to understand some words at least, even without knowing the respective languages. So, he certainly will assume that "Etats-Unis" in French, "Stati Uniti" in Italian, and "Estados Unidos" in Spanish, means "United States." But if he picks up a Russian journal, it will be quite a different matter. In Russian the same word will be: "Soedinennye Shtaty."

The first surprise will be the fact that a Russian paper is printed in some peculiar alphabet, which originated in the 9th century and whose author was—or rather is supposed to have been—the famous missionary, St. Cyrill, who propagated the Christian faith among the Slavs. This "Church Slavonic" or Cyrillic alphabet was somewhat modernized by Peter the Great, who, by the way, was also the first newspaper publisher in Russia. And for two and a half centuries his Russian lay alphabet has served for the printing of the works of Pushkin and Gogol, Turgenev and Tolstoi, Dostoevsky and Chekhov, Gorky and Sholokhov.

We do not intend to tell the history of Russian journalism here. It is sufficient to note that while in "Holy Russia" there were only 859 newspapers, now their number exceeds 8,500, and their circulation has increased some fifteen times, compared with the pre-revolutionary period. Besides, at present, papers are published in more than a hundred vernaculars, whereas in tsarist days the non-Russian press had even a harder life than the Russian papers.

But the alphabet is not the only trouble. The whole conception of the press and its function will be quite strange to an American reader, inasmuch as the form and contents of a Russian paper are different from those to which he is accustomed. Lenin called the press the "collective organizer" of the nation's life. How diverse is the opinion of the *Wall Street Journal,* which wrote editorially: "A newspaper is a private enterprise, owing nothing to the public, which grants it no franchise. It is therefore affected with no public interest. It is emphatically the property of its owner who is selling a manufactured product at its own risk."

The private ownership of the press is opposed by Russian public opinion. This is not a specific communist approach. In fact, from its earliest days, the European Labor and Socialist Movement has been hostile to the "bourgeois" press, and Ferdinand Lassalle proclaimed seven years before Lenin's birth: "The capitalist press is the worst enemy of the people. . . . It holds the publisher's capital the most sacred thing in the world." (Speech in Duesseldorf, in 1863.)

According to this tradition and to the general economic and social structure of Soviet Russia, the press is regarded as a public service; and the papers and magazines are published by corporations and collectivities, such as the Communist Party, Legislative Assembly, Trade-Unions, People's Commissariats or departments of government, municipalities, cooperatives, scientific institutions, writers' associations, youths' organizations, pioneers' societies, collective farms, factory committees, etc., etc.

Let us study in more detail some of the leading Moscow papers.

First comes *Pravda* (Truth), with a daily circulation of over two million. Its political importance lies in the fact that it is the organ of the Central and Moscow Committees of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), the only legitimate party in the country, in accordance with Article 126 of the Soviet Constitution of December 5, 1936. The Communists are not a bit ashamed of their special position. For instance, Stalin stated quite plainly that as "a party is a part of a class," there is no ground for the existence of several parties in the Soviet Union, where there are only two classes, workers and peasants, whose interests, far from being mutually hostile, are, on the contrary, friendly.

Pravda is also the oldest of the existing papers, and it has published almost 10,000 issues since May 5, 1912, when it was founded by Lenin and Stalin in St. Petersburg. This date is regarded as so important that it is annually commemorated as Press Day throughout the Soviet Union.

On the front page of the paper are printed as a motto the closing words of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels: "Workers of the World, Unite!" We may remind our readers that these words became a catchword of the Socialist and Labor Parties throughout the world almost a century ago.

The second daily in importance and in cir-
lation is the official *Izvestia,* i.e. News of the
viets of Toilers' Deputies. It is published
the Presidium, or Executive Committee, of
e Supreme Soviet, the nation's chief legis-
tive bicameral body, which corresponds to
e Congress of this country. The paper has
en in existence for twenty-eight years, its
st number having been published on the
cond day of the March Revolution of 1917,
hen the first Soviet of Workers' Deputies
as established by the people of Petrograd.

The same motto, "Workers of the World,
nite!", is on the masthead of *Izvestia.* But
ere it is printed in the sixteen different lan-
uages of the constituent republics of the
S.R.R. Although the population of these
publics fluctuates from nine hundred thou-
nd in the Carelo-Finnish Republic to one
undred and fifteen million in the Russian
ederated Republic, their languages are abso-
tely equal before the law, and important
gislative measures, as for instance constitu-
onal changes, are published in *Izvestia* in all
ese languages.

Krasnaya Zvezda (Red Star), published by the People's Commissariat of Defense, has increased in importance during the war. When Russia was attacked, the already mentioned motto was replaced by the following: "Death to the German Invaders!" This modification provoked many comments in the international press. Some journalists approved and some deplored this "swing to the Right" and "abandonment of internationalism." But a more careful examination would have showed them that this motto still remained in the red star put at the left of the title. Hence, joy or grief was premature. . . .

It has often been stated, and rightly so, that Soviet Russia is a country of youth. It is therefore interesting to mention *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (Comsomol's Truth), the journal of the All-Union Leninist Communist League of Youth. This organization has several million members. It is easy to understand that these Youths, in the prime of manhood, play an extraordinary important role in the war; hence, the importance of their paper.

Trud (Toil) is published by the All-Union Central Council of Trade-Unions, which includes more than one hundred and fifty unions,

WE REPRODUCE MASTHEADS OF THE THREE LEADING RUSSIAN PAPERS:

Pravda (Truth), published by the Communist Party, with the motto: "Workers of the World, Unite!";

Krasnaya Zvezda (Red Star), Army's newspaper, with the motto: "Death to the German Invaders!";

Izvestia (News), organ of the Supreme Soviet; the motto: "Workers of the World!" is reproduced in sixteen languages; the issue of April 27th was received by us on May 19th, by air mail; for the translation of the May Day slogans 5 and 6, see the article.

Смерть немецким оккупантам!

КРАСНАЯ ЗВЕЗДА

ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ ОРГАН НАРОДНОГО КОМИССАРИАТА ОБОРОНЫ СОЮЗА ССР

30 декабря 1943 г. четверг

№ 308 (5679)

ЦЕНА 20 КОП.

Накануне нового года

ОТ СОВЕТСКОГО

Оперативная сво

Всеволожская Коммунистическая Партия (Большевиков).

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

ПРАВДА

Орган Центрального Комитета и МК ВКП(б).

№ 80 (8637) | Воскресенье, 2 апреля 1944 г. | ЦЕНА 20 КОП.

Предмайское социалистическое соревнование

Коллектив Ма
инженерно-техни
Союза вступить
усиление помощ
Наступающей
Самообтержен

СТАЛИНГРАД
МЕТАЛЛУРГИЧЕСКИЙ ЗА
товарищам КРАТЕНКО,
МИХЕЕВУ, МУЩ
Поздравляю коллектив
Сталинградского ордена Лен
Красного Знамени с успеш
в деле освоения Октябрьск
Рушишь героический труд
Красная Армия, металлургичес
фашистским одер
ством. Всем

Год издания 26-й

№ 100 (8402)

ЧЕТВЕРГ

27

АПРЕЛЯ

1944 г.

Цена 20 коп.

ИЗВЕСТИЯ СОВЕТОВ ДЕПУТАТОВ ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ СССР

Да здравствует великий советский народ, его героическая Красная Армия и доблестный Военно-Морской Флот, успешно изгоняющие фашистских извергов из пределов нашей Родины!

(Из Призывов ЦК ВКП(б) к 1 Мая 1944 года).

Призывы ЦК ВКП(б) к 1 Мая 1944 года

1. Да здравствует 1 МАЯ — день смотра боевых сил трудящихся! Трудящиеся всех стран, соединяйтесь для борьбы за полный разгром немецко-фашистских захватчиков!

2. Долой неславистский гитлеровский иновый порядок в Европе! Смерть немецко-фашистским разбойникам, кровавым поработителям народов, ввергнувшим сотни миллионов людей в пучину войны!

3. Отомстим немецко-фашистским извергам за разрушение и разрушение наших городов и сел, за насилия над женщинами и детьми, за убийство и увод в немецкое рабство! Смело проникайте в расположение противника, вовремя вскрывайте группировку вражеских сил, помогайте нашим войскам бить врага наверняка. Да здравствуют советские разведчики!

19. Связисты Красной Армии! Помните, что хорошая связь является важнейшим условием управления боем. Всемерно изучайте дело связи в Красной Армии, обеспечивайте успех ее боевых операций! Да здравствуют советские связисты!

20. Бойцы и командиры инженерных войск! Всеми силами и средствами помогайте нашим войскам штурмовать [illegible], форсировать реки, преодолевать

те электростанции, разрушенные немецко-фашистскими варварами! Наращивайте энергетические мощности!

36. Рабочие и работницы, инженеры и техники легкой и текстильной промышленности! Изо дня в день увеличивайте производство обмундирования для Красной Армии и товаров широкого потребления для населения!

37. Рабочие и работницы, инженеры и техники местной промышленности! Больше инициативы в использовании местных ресурсов, увеличивайте выпуск товаров для населения и Красной Армии!

38. Рабочие и работницы, инженеры и техники пищевой промышленности! Увеличивайте производство про-

with an aggregate membership exceeding twenty-five million workers—far more than the Labor Movement of all the rest of the world put together. In fact, if we omit the Church, in no country does there exist a voluntary organization of this size.

We can only allude briefly to some other papers as, for instance, *Voina i Rabochy Klass* (War and the Working Class), a leading political fortnightly magazine, published by the Trade-Unions and widely quoted by the American and international press; *Literarturnaya Gazeta* (Literary Gazette); *Sotsialisticheskoe Zemledelie* (Socialist Agriculture); *Pionerskaya Pravda* (Pioneers' Truth) for children; *Kommunisticheskoe Prosveshchenie* (Communist Enlightenment) of the teachers; *Svistok* (Whistle) of the railroad workers; and so on, and so forth.

As we have just seen, a great variety of journals exists in Russia, and of course every one of them is intended to satisfy the special interests of its readers. But they all have common features which are characteristic of them as a whole, and which, consequently, deserve our attention.

What are these common traits of the Russian press?

We could describe them as follows: It is not the object of these papers to entertain their readers, especially for the duration. An easy-going fellow certainly would not like them, since he would not find any fun there: their very aspect is austere, almost ascetic. Further, this press is purposeful: each and every one for the war, for the defense of the motherland, for the defeat of the enemy, that is its rallying call.

The whole text, from the first word to the last, all headlines and headings, every cartoon, every photograph, every verse,—all is directed toward this goal. Therefore, every single sheet attests to the moral tension of the people of the Soviet Union and their determination to attain victory. This press reflects the total mobilization for a total war of the whole country, which is, like the United States, a continent in itself; and it reminds us of Georges Clemenceau of the first World War, whose policy was simple: "Home policy? I wage war! Foreign policy? I wage war! All the time I wage war!"

Before we go into more detail regarding the contents of a Russian newspaper, let us say a few words about its outward appearance.

The pages of a Moscow daily are as large as those of a great American newspaper, like the *New York Herald Tribune*. But the former has no more than four pages. In prewar times, Russian papers were used to print from six to eight pages in length. But June, 1941, they were drastically reduced size. Even a foreigner who does not kno Russian would immediately be struck by th total absence of either big display or classifie advertisements. In this way, a Russian pap saves about fifty per cent of its space as con pared to a normal American paper. (The pre did not carry advertisements in peace tim either.) But nevertheless, every profession newspaperman will tell you that to make journal with so little newsprint is a real tou de force.

A copy is sold for twenty kopeks, which four cents according to the official exchang rate. To make the comparison more compre hensible, we may offer this example: in th country, we generally pay three cents for newspaper, or exactly the price of a post car to a foreign country; the same card costs fift kopeks in Russia, i.e. two and half times th price of a paper.

The newsprint used in Russia is not diffe ent from that of this country. A Russian pape has six instead of the eight columns to whic we are accustomed, and its type is much smalle and extra-condensed to save "living space."

How does the first page of a Moscow pape look?

At the top we usually see a summary c the contents. Sometimes, this is replaced b a fighting slogan or appeal, a news flash, striking quotation, etc. This page is reserve for the day's communiqué: in Russian, *svodk* —a child learns this word now right afte "mamma." Short reports from the variou "fronts"—agricultural, industrial, cultural— are displayed here, too. Orders of the da from the Supreme Commander-in-Chief ar published in bold type, and when the tide o battle is favorable, half a page may be devote to them. Decrees of the Supreme Soviet o the decoration of officers and privates and thei promotion are often first-page news, as fo instance the decoration of General Dwight D Eisenhower or General George C. Marsha with the Order of Suvorov, first class.

We find here numerous letters to Stalin (w will discuss this topic later). The two firs columns contain an editorial. Occasionally th photograph of a man or a woman prominen in the news—a war hero, a hero of toil, statesman, scientist, writer—or an importan event—the session of the Supreme Soviet liberated districts, scenes of warfare, a new blooming-mill—sets off page one.

The first page of a newspaper is its face This face does not look at us with a smile. I is earnest, concentrated, and grave. The visag of a reaper during harvest-time—of a thinke who is resolving the problem of his lifework— of a chutist ready to jump out of a plane?

Many an outsider will find the Soviet press ıll and monotonous. There are no comic ;ps, no chatterbox gossip, no society scan-ls, no demimonde news, no provocative ıdes. Photographs, pictures, and "human in-rest" stories are generally published in special eeklies, as for instance in *Ogonek* (Light). /e shall never learn from the press what alin's children are eating, what the hobby of arshal Timoshenko is, and how Mikhail Ka-hin's wife is dressed. Sensational reports on ove, tears, and blood" and on a triangle and denouement in a courtroom, as well as the nfessions of cocottes and gangsters, are king completely. There is nothing to tickle e dying libido of a little old man. We can e or dislike the Soviet papers for their lass ideology," but they certainly are anti-des to yellow journalism.

Can a serious press, which in the words of homas Jefferson "is the best instrument for lightening the mind of man, and improving m as a rational, moral, and social being," can ch a "prosy" press become a popular press, th a large circulation? As we know, the viet newspapers have a large circulation, d Russians read them eagerly.

Why?

As we have already mentioned, today the ıtriotic War is the very essence of Russian e, both public and private. Besides the mmuniqués and official military comments, ery paper publishes reports from its own rrespondents on different battlefields. They llow the Red Army closely, as they say, "on e shoulders of retreating enemy," and many them have been wounded and killed. In ct, they often are "pluralists" holding two fices at one time: that of a regular fighter, ıd that of a "spare time" journalist. Their ports are vivid, colorful, and sharp. They ıve to be concise and even curt: flowery nguage and a luxuriant style are banned, nce every one accepts the advice of the ench poet Paul Verlaine: "Prends l'éloquence tords-lui son cou." (Take the eloquence ıd twist his neck.)

Many well known writers have become war rrespondents too: Aleksei Tolstoi, Mikhail ıolokhov, Ilya Ehrenburg, Nikolai Tikhonov, ygeny Petrov. The last named, co-author of ittle Golden America," was killed at Sevas-pol.

Ilya Ehrenburg has written more than a ousand short stories and articles in the last ree years, chiefly in the Red Army daily, *rasnaya Zvezda.* He has recently been dec-ated with the Order of Lenin and has earned extraordinary popularity with the Red rmy: scores of soldiers' letters tell this "fight-g author" every day that his writing is ex-emely helpful to their morale and courage. A regimental commander allowed his men to use *Krasnaya Zvezda* as "rice paper" for cigarettes. But, he added severely, Ehrenburg's writings ought to be cut out beforehand and kept in the library.

A few quotations from Ehrenburg will give us the "tonality" of war writing in the Russian press: Love and Hatred; love for his people, their great cultural past, their freedom and social achievements; hatred for the German Fascists, their cruelty, their betrayal of all that is human and decent.

Ehrenburg calls up the country's historic past: "We are fighting for Russia, for the State welded by the labor of generations and sprinkled with the blood of generations; for the State which was born beside the Dnieper's bright waters, whose youth spoke in the assembly bell of Novogrod, and which was built up devotedly from the time of Ivan Kalita to our days. . . . How many centuries of effort were required before the Russia of forests and log cabins created granite-girt Leningrad! Only a great people could have built the Admiralty. Only a great people could have produced Lev Tolstoi. Only a great people could have opened the new era which began on October 25 . . ."

When in the summer of 1942 Russia was threatened with mortal danger, when the enemy arived at the Volga, the writer called every soldier, every citizen to rise and to fight:

"Soldier, not only your company is marching with you in battle. With you are marching the entire Army and the entire people. With you are marching the fallen heroes, the soldiers who barred the enemy's path last summer and drove him back last winter.

"With you are marching your forefathers who welded the state of Russia. With you are marching the soldiers of 1812 who drove out the invincible Napoleon. With you are marching Budenny's men and Chapayev's men, starving and barefoot, but triumphant in spite of all. With you are marching your children, your mother, your wife. They give you their blessing. You will win a tranquil old age for your mother, a joyous reunion for your wife, happiness for your children.

"Soldier, with you Russia is marching. She is by your side. Listen to her winged tread. She will hearten you with a tender word in the hour of battle. She will support you if you flinch. She will embrace you if you triumph."

And finally Ehrenburg explains his feelings towards the enemy:

"Hatred did not come to us easily. We paid for it with cities and regions and with hundreds of thousands of human lives. But now

our hatred is ripe. . . . We have come to realize that this is not a time for concessions or negotiations, that very elementary things are at stake—the right to breathe. . . . Our hatred of the Hitlerites is dictated by love, by love of our countryman and mankind. Therein lies the power of our hate. And therein lies its justification."

This hatred of the enemy goes hand in hand with a contempt for him. Russian papers never speak of Nazis without adding such adjectives as "bestial," "bloody," "thrice accursed,"—and these are not the strongest. They do not regard the war as a "knightly sport," and the Fascist enemy as a "gallant foe." For them, he is an "Unter-Mensch" (Underman), as long as he "slays suckling infants . . . tortures the wounded . . . violates girls . . . burns down our cities . . . tramples down our fields . . . hews down our orchards . . ."

But it would be a mistake to believe that the Russian press has adopted racial fanaticism in its turn. Revealing is a letter written by Major General Biyazy and published in *Pionerskaya Pravda,* a children's paper. This letter was addressed to a boy who had refused to study German: "a Fascist language."

The General, wrote "The German language was the tongue of Marx and Engels. The works of such famous writers as Goethe, Schiller, and Heine were written in this language. Prominent German scientists also have written many books in this language. In order to read and study them, it is necessary to know German. It is true, the Nazis speak German, but that does not make it Fascist. There is no such thing in the world as a Fascist language. The German language is the speech of the German people. The German Fascists will be destroyed, but the German people will remain, just as their highly cultured language will remain."

We must imagine the horrors this man has seen perpetrated by the enemy to fully appreciate his words.

"Love for our motherland prevails over all other feelings," writes Aleksei Tolstoi. "Everything we see around us, things that perphaps we hardly ever noticed—or never valued—the smell of rye bread in the smoke, the snow swirling around the cottage,—all this becomes immeasurably dear to us. All faces, all eyes, reflect one single absorbing thought. We who live in this age are the guardians and caretakers of our motherland. . . . Some day, the various national streams will merge into one stormfree sea, into one single humanity; but this belongs to the future. At present, our age is an age of grim struggle for our independence, for our freedom and for right to build our society and our happiness according our own laws."

This humanistic patriotism has nothin common with the nationalistic frenzy "Deutschland ueber alles." Equality and ternity of all peoples belonging to the So Commonwealth of Nations are again and a emphasized in editorials, war news, verses, cartoons. The Russians are referred to as "elder brother" of other Soviet peoples "Primus inter pares." Cultural interco among them is encouraged by every poss means.

News regarding the republics—Molda Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—admitted to Soviet Union in 1940 and still occupied by enemy and the courageous deeds of their r ments and partisans, which are fighting w the Red Army, are prominently displayec the press. Special attention is devoted to Allied units fighting on Soviet soil: Pol Czech, and Yugoslav divisions, the Fre Aviation Squadron "Normandie," and nov American fliers. In several issues, newspap celebrated the Polish national hero, Thadd Kosciuszko, "who led the revolt against eign invasion and domestic reaction, one h dred and fifty years ago."

Economic information continues to be essential as before the war. Successes on industrial front, particularly in war indus an increase in the agricultural output, the construction of devastated areas, fulfillm of programs or failure to do so, new impro methods of production,—all that is descri and discussed at length, in highly techn language and with interminable statistics.

Individual achievements and deficiencies reported. "Znatnye lyudi"—people who st pre-eminent among their countrymen— women and men who distinguish themsel by acts of courage or by hard and effect work. The heroine of the Russian film, "T Met in Moscow," now being shown in United States, is a keeper of swine. And is the author of a detailed article in *Pravda,* Lyuskova. Proudly, she tells her many mill readers that in twelve years she bred 4,5 sucking-pigs personally and that one of sows produced 10,900 pounds of meat yea

The accounts of the legislative sessions the Supreme Soviet of the Union and Supreme Soviets of the constituent republ fill many newspaper pages. In certain issu more than two pages (out of four!) deal w the state budget. For the current year, amounts to 245.6 billion rubels, and its r greatly exceeds the normal function of a st budget in other countries: in Russia, the c cussion of the budget in the Supreme Sov is an annual review of all natural resources a production forces in the country. Hence

erest of the public which studies the bus-
ss-like and "dry" speeches supplemented by
tistical tables.

No less important for the readers is the
rural "front." An English author noted that
Russians used the expressions "a cultured
n" or "not a cultured man" far more than
English-speaking peoples, and that the
rd "cultured" had a far deeper signifiance
Russian than in English. The senseless
struction of historical monuments, churches,
seums, libraries, theatres, schools, and
ches therefore arouses a far greater indig-
ion in Russia than all other Nazi horrors
cruelties. The Russians know the phrase
he Nazi writer Joste: "Whenever I hear the
rd 'culture,' I release the safety-catch of my
omatic pistol." And this knowledge has
de them fight harder.

Cultural life has not stopped during the
r, even in beseiged cities like Leningrad.
d the press stresses every achievement in
s field with the greatest pride. The Red
my has liberated more than 650,000 square
les of Soviet territory* and scores of large
es where the invader destroyed thousands
scientific and cultural institutions. Their
onstruction by the collective work of all
Soviet peoples is related by the newspapers
m day to day. Wrecked theatres, destroyed
oratories, ruined churches, burnt books will
n be restored. But the hatred against the
rown Plague" will certainly remain.

To be convinced of it let us look at the
toons, which are the most original char-
eristic of the Soviet press. They are striking
d some of them are really horrifying; they
eal a deadly hatred. It is impossible to
scribe them in words properly. We shall
esent a set of them to our readers in the
ar future.

A *sui generis* feature of the Soviet press is
place Stalin occupies there. We may re-
mber that he is Premier and People's Com-
ssar of Defense, Commander-in-Chief of
Red Army, Fleet, and Air Force and
airman of the Council of Defense, Marshal
d Deputy to the Supreme Soviet, as well as,
t but not least, General Secretary of the
mmunist Party. But, above all, he is an
standing man, a fact recognized today even
his enemies, except by some nonentities.
e hopes, gratitude, and admiration of all his
ntrymen, who fight for their very existence
der his leadership, are concentrated upon
n.

In every issue of every paper we read letters to Stalin. People send them to him with gifts to build planes, tanks, cannons. These letters come from workers and clergymen, from scientists and children, from soldiers and peasants. The achievements in agriculture, industry, and cultural life are told in hundreds of letters. Collective letters come from the enemy rear; they are written by partisans and brought through the lines. Letters signed by thousands of plain people come from liberated districts, and the authors tell of their sufferings under German rule, their struggle against the invader, and their present conditions. They express criticism of the Administration and contain detailed plans for the restoration of the "Soviet life."

These letters are written in a colorful and popular style, and if we tried to translate them into English, some delicate ears would certainly be offended. . . . But a future historian of the Soviet-German War of 1941-1944 will find in these letters the most complete and authentic picture of the needs and aspirations of two hundred million men and women who speak their mind freely.

Now we come to the last question: How well informed does the Soviet press keep the Russian people in regard to foreign affairs?

The Moscow papers no longer have their special correspondents abroad as they used to have before the war. All the news comes through the Tass Agency, which has its bureaus in every important Allied and neutral city,—in Washington, New York, Ottawa, London, Mexico City, Algiers, Sydney, Chunking, Brazzaville, Teheran, Geneva, Istanbul, Stockholm, Cairo, Kabul, and other places. Since Russia is not at war with Japan and Bulgaria, Tass correspondents are also in Tokyo and Sofia. Is it too much to suppose that they get valuable information from the enemy camp?

Tass receives an average of a million words weekly from its bureaus at home and abroad. Naturally, the size of the newspapers permits the publication of only an infinitesimal part of this material. But the news is classified and filed for future use. After his return from the Soviet Union, my former "boss," Léon Nicole, Swiss statesman and publisher of *Le Travail,* Geneva, told me that the amount of information stocked by the Moscow press was amazing. No paper in the world, he asserted, could emulate *Pravda's* records in this respect.

The international news is published on the fourth and last page. The primary subject is again war, including military operation in the Pacific. Every report that stresses inter-Allied unity is prominently displayed. Among the slogans for the last May Day, for instance, we find the following: "Long live the victory of

* There is a race between the Red Army and author of this article, who has already changed above-mentioned figure three times. The Red ny, which "was already broken and will never again" (Hitler, October 3, 1941), retreats so idly to . . . Berlin that the author must give up.

the Anglo-Soviet-American fighting union over the worst enemy of humanity—the German-Fascist aggressors! Greetings to the valiant Anglo-American fliers who bomb the military objectives of fascist Germany! Greetings to the courageous seamen of Great Britain and the United States who fight against the German pirates!"

Generally, the Russian press abstains from disputes with Allied newspapers. But when it begins a debate, it does not hesitate to use "energetic" words. Some biting *feuilletons* were devoted to the military expert of the *New York Times,* Hanson W. Baldwin, "the admiral of the ink-puddle," and to Hearst, "the newspaper gangster." However, these outbursts are rare.

The speeches of Allied statesmen, Roosevelt, Churchill, de Gaulle, Wallace, Dewey, Eden, Stettinius, the late Frank Knox, etc., are extensively reproduced. A statement of Cordell Hull on American foreign policy occupied almost half a page.

The Slavic peoples, Great Britain and the Dominions, particularly Canada, France, Italy and many other countries, are often dealt with in the press. The United States arouses a special interest. The cables from the New York Tass bureau represent a substantial contribution to the Russian dailies. Here are some items published recently: The increase in American war production; activity of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Lend-Lease; success of the war loan; Russian cultural, musical, and motion-picture performances in this country; American Labor; American Navy and Aviation; American opinion on Soviet-Polish relations; statements of Father Orlemanski and Professor Lange; the n "Rainbow" by Wanda Waslilewska transl into English and published in this coun inter-American relations; the forthcom presidential election; Thomas E. Dewey; session of the Congress; the Poll tax; the s tion trial in Washington; and so on. article of Lt. Comdr. Charles S. Seely, " the Vatican Finance an Invasion?", publis by THE PROTESTANT, April, 1944, quoted by *Pravda.*

Many people believe the Russian press no concern other than "to fan the fires world revolution." Would they like to kn some representative titles of "incendiary" torials in the Moscow dailies? Here they a "For an Exemplary Order in Military H pitals"; "Let Us Spread the Experience of Advanced Agricultural Workers"; "The Bu ing Season in the Spring of 1944"; "On Eve of a Navigation Season"; "Fighting P gram of Agricultural Labor in 1944"; "N Successes in the Repair of Tractors"; "Mo for the Countryfolk"; "We Must Better Quality of Agricultural Labor"; etc., etc.

But perhaps these titles which seem innocent are in reality subversive communi tions to be read with a secret code. Here gratifying sphere of action for sagacious perts on Russian affairs: Who will find a to the mystery?

Is it necessary to formulate a final judgm on the Soviet Press? We believe that this pr plays almost as decisive a role in the war the Red Army and the armament indus General Ludendorff once stated, "Words battles today: upright words win batt wicked words lose battles." Apparently, Russian press found "upright words."

ADDENDUM
ON OUR PRESS RESPONSIBILITY TO RUSSIA

AT LAST, the Big Three seem to have achieved a complete unity of their strategic plans. A few days after the mighty and successful American and English landings in Normandy, the Red Army launched a full offensive on the Karelian Isthmus against the Finland of Mannerheim and Tanner. But the military cooperation will go to rack and ruin if it is not based on moral understanding among the United Nations. In this respect, the role of the Press is tremendous. We are opposed to any political censorship, but we do suppose that every serious newspaper, in every Allied country, must feel how great its responsibility is in these epochal days and ho and that, therefore, it ought to exert strongest self-control.

Is this always the case?

Unfortunately, in the recent issues of greatest Russian newspaper *Pravda,* wh is published in Moscow, there were so letters from the readers, which are contr to the best interests of all Allied countries.

Let our readers judge.

The Soviet Union is not at war with Jap and the above-mentioned letters discuss American-Japanese war. Strangely enou they all are against the U. S. A., Russia's a and for "neutral" Japan.

To a letter published on May 25, the paper gives this heading: "Japan Not An Aggressor. Present War, It Is Held, Was Forced On Unwilling Country."

Says the Russian reader, "A perusal of the issues of your paper - - - of that fateful year shows clearly that responsible Japanese statesmen made every effort to keep their country out of a - - - war against the United States. Even the American Minister to Tokyo made optimistic statements. - - - Japan obviously had no intention to fight. - - - The various appeals to Japan to 'get out of the war' must cause an odd impression in that unhappy country."

Five days later, on May 30, the paper published a new letter. The author "disagrees" with the first reader and holds Japan the aggressor. Nevertheless, this "pro-American" reader asserts:

"The fact that Americans have won the Allies' trust has not made the Japanese less suspicious, and the high-handed manner in which the United States seems bent to handle its relations with France, which after all is an ally, gives the Japanese the jitters about what fate a former enemy may have to expect."

But these two letters do not seem to satisfy the paper. And one week later, on June 7, a letter of a third reader appears in its columns under the heading: "Blame Placed Upon America." He draws the following conclusion:

"It is evident that Washington was not interested in maintaining peace with Japan. On the contrary, Washington thought, at least its acts showed, that it was the opportune time to administer the final blow to Japan. - - - Every circumstance, from the beginning to the present outrageous peace terms, proves beyond any successful contradiction that America was and is again the aggressor."

Is it not remarkable that the Russian newspaper finds space only for pro-Japanese and anti-American letters? Has not every American the right to be digusted by this lack of loyalty of a great newspaper published in an Allied country?

* * *

These three letters are not apocryphal. They were really published but . . . not in the Moscow *Pravda.* It is *The New York Times* which believed that it was timely to publish them. (May we say: to solicit them?)

We have quoted them verbatim and the only changes made are: "Japan" instead of "Finland"; "America" instead of "Russia"; "Tokyo" instead of "Helsinki"; "Washington" instead of "Moscow"; "France" instead of "Poland"; etc.

We may add that on June 9, *The Times* published a new letter from Jonas Budrys, "Consul General of Lithuania." This gentleman was sent to this country by the now non-existing *Fascist* Lithuanian government. In fact, the Lithuanian democracy was crushed by a coup d'état as long ago as December 17, 1926, a few months after the putsch of Marshal Pilsudski in Poland. And now Mr. Budrys uses the hospitality of *The Times* to appeal to the Lithuanian nation "to resist" "the Soviet's designs upon their native country." If the words have any sense, this is an open and direct appeal to revolt against the advancing Red Army.

After having read the letter of the "Consul General of Lithuania," we could ask ourselves: Who is the Ally of the United States: Russia or . . . Germany?

CHILDREN IN QUEBEC

By MARY CURTICE

CONTRARY TO almost universal opinion, the Roman Catholic Church does not rule Quebec. It is one of the instruments by which the province is controlled for the benefit of British, English-Canadian and American investors, while itself participating in and profiting from that control, since the Church has great possessions. It has pervasive authority, but in the last fifty years its power has been steadily undermined on two sides, by the financial oligarchy which finds the Liberal Party a more flexible modern tool, and less importantly by the labor movement which accompanies industrialization. The Tories, the remnant of British imperialist domination, are hardly to be distinguished from the Liberals in domestic policy, although they play a special role in Quebec because of their link with the most reactionary prelates and demagogic nationalists, now moving toward Fascism.

In one field, however, the Church holds firmly to all its traditional power—that of education. Its leaders never forget the Jesuit maxim about the first six years of a child. And after six, they carry on as long as possible, to make sure the youthful mind of Quebec is set on the path where they want it to go.

On a blistering hot summer day in Montreal, one is likely to encounter a pitiful pro-

cession marching along a downtown sidewalk, fifty or sixty little girls walking two by two, clothed completely in black, black stuff dresses, long black stockings, black gloves, big black hats. The dark eyes in the thin pale faces look neither to left nor right. Bringing up the rear of the column come two nuns, their long skirts flicking the dusty pavement with every step. These are the *les orphelines,* on their way to some prayer service. Their dress is only one symptom of that pathological zeal for modesty which informs all Catholic and much Protestant training in Quebec—a zeal so extreme that until ten years ago girls in convent schools had to wear night-gowns when they took their baths, thick garments somehow spread out over the tub, beneath which could be scrubbed the little bodies neither they nor God must see. One day last summer a young mother from France was taking her two-year-old son down the street of a Laurentian village, when she encountered the curé. He warned her that unless she garbed the child properly, not in the sun-suit he was wearing, she would have to leave town. One of the accusations evolved by the nationalists in their anti-Semitic campaign is that the Jews have gained control of the clothing industry in order to force modest French-Canadian maidens to wear indecent dresses, modelled on New York styles. Somehow the maidens themselves show no disposition to appear in office or factory in homespun mother-hubbards; but of course they should not be there at all. Their place is at home having the annual baby. The cult of the healthy sun-tanned body is not highly regarded in Quebec, and the sunshine vitamin is not considered essential for *les orphelines.*

These dependent children are a serious problem. The method of caring for them is an inheritance from the Middle Ages. Different religious orders are granted charters to look after certain categories, delinquents, illegitimate infants, and so on; for this the provincial government allots them so much per head. In course of years such care becomes a vested interest. The legislature has recently passed a bill to set up a department of child welfare, giving its superintendent some authority over the big institutions, and some power to rescue neglected and abused children. The measure was opposed by the nationalists and some of the clergy because it infringes the right of a father to do whatever he pleases with his child, and interferes with the jurisdiction of the parish priest. But the deaths of eighteen babies from malnutrition in commercial nurseries, the freely admitted unwholesome conditions in the *creches* and *orphelinats,* and the scandals widely spread about the conduct of the friars in certain reformatories, were too much for the opposition. Public opinion demanded the bill, and got it.

There were last year more than 11,000 children in institutions who received public charity, an appalling number from a population of fewer than three million. 3,000 were under one year, 4,000 from one to five years (death and adoption thin them out) and nearly 4,500 from five to fourteen, the stupid, the ugly, the unlucky unhappy ones that nobody wants. There are many others for whom parents pay board in convents, this in a province where the preservation of the home is the cardinal point in every public utterance. Besides, there are those sent to industrial homes by Juvenile Court or parents who cannot manage them. Not all *les orphelines* are really orphans or illegitimate; many are from homes broken up for one reason or another, some where mothers have to go out to work and cannot care for the child, some where housing cannot be found for a whole family in the present incredible scarcity, some where fathers have died or departed and mothers cannot keep the home together on the $25 a month plus $5 a child allowed under the Needy Mothers' Assistance Act. Unmarried mothers give up their babies at once; they go directly to a creche. Some of the babies are simply the youngest ones in families where the twelfth or thirteenth mouth simply cannot be fed. Since public charity cannot be had for children whose fathers are known, the easiest way is to take the baby to a convent and turn him in to be inscribed *parents inconnus.*

All the orphanages are overcrowded. Feeble-minded and normal are kept together. In some places children never play on the ground. In none is there any privacy. At Huberdeau, where boys are kept to fourteen, they eat, sleep, bathe en masse. It is herd life, with no intellectual stimulus, and the harshest discipline. No wonder the average mental age is eight. Such dulled and regimented youth is material for Fascist cohorts, not for life in a democracy. When they leave the institution, boys are usually sent to work for farmers, girls to do housework. Their wages are held for them until they are twenty-one, unless the girls in the meantime pass to the control of husbands, or return to an institution with bastard babies. Starved for affection and utterly ignorant, they are easy marks for casual seduction. Girls can legally marry at twelve, boys at fourteen, though they may not be admitted to a movie theatre till they are sixteen. Theoretically then, a girl might be the mother of three children before she could see a movie.

Church authorities lament conditions in the institutions, and lay all the blame where

much of it belongs, on the niggardly sums allotted from the provincial treasury, thirty to sixty cents per day per child. The treasurer of the province is regularly English-Canadian, watchdog over appropriations and representative of the financial interests of the country. Taxes must be kept down. On the other hand, it is estimated that only one-fifth of the Church's income goes for social services. Not even the provincial treasury knows how large are its revenues. It owns vast woodlands and much city real estate, and it pays no taxes at all.

The education of ordinary children is strictly divided between Catholic and Protestant School Committees for the province, and similar schoolboards in each town or city. There is no Department of Education, though the Provincial Secretary functions as a Minister of Education, having charge of some commercial and technical schools. Each board is supreme in its own sphere. Jewish children and most minority groups go to the English Protestant schools. So do Irish Catholics, except in districts where they are so many as to have their own schools under the Catholic board. Outside the cities, the English schools are negligible. In Montreal they have about a third of the pupils, some 35,000. The schools are supported by a complicated system of taxation on real estate; Jews and corporations pay a higher rate to a neutral panel, Catholics and Protestants each to their own. The neutral fund is then split proportionally, after a per capita payment has been made to the Protestant Board for Jewish children. The Protestant Board likes to think it is independent. Actually the two boards are like men in a three-legged race, each holding the other back. Of late the teachers have begun to realize this, and lay Catholic teachers have worked with the Protestant teachers in fighting for wage increases. Friars and nuns can work for low salaries, since their living is sure, and they usually have the principalships. The lay teachers call them "our scabs." The minimum for Catholic teachers in the province is $400 a year.

In most cases boys and girls go to separate schools. In the Protestant system they separate at sixth grade. All city schoolhouses have separate entrances for them. The education of the French upper class who can afford to pay private tuition is wholly in the hands of the Church. The classical colleges to which boys go give little science. Their instruction is thorough, but it turns out priests, lawyers, civil servants, not engineers and chemists. Biology and nature study hardly enter the picture in either system, though in the last few years the Botanical Gardens have done something to stimulate interest. In the lower grades everything is centered around religion. Long hours are given to the catechism; even arithmetic brings in references to rosaries. History is largely history of Quebec, with emphasis on the glories and grievances of the French-Canadians, the exile of the Acadians, the devotion to the Cross of Seigneur Maisonneuve. The rest of the world comes off rather badly, having missed the true way somewhere. But in the English schools not enough attention is paid to the contributions of anybody except Sir John MacDonald and Lord Strathcona to the building of Canada. The writing of a history textbook for all Canada is now a burning question.

Last year school attendance was made compulsory, the fight against it again being on the ground of parental authority. It is reported that 10,000 children in Montreal of school age have never been to school. Next year textbooks are to be free in some cases. French-Canadians blame their education for their lack of success in business and are moving to remedy the most obvious defects, but for a long time their training is likely to be authoritarian, and not of a kind to develop initiative or a scientific spirit. The difference between the English and French day nurseries is interesting. In the English ones the youngsters run and yell; in the French, they march under the eyes of the nuns, sing little songs, behave decorously. French-Canadian children do not play much. In the country there are chores to do, in the city there is little place but the street. If Montreal had the same proportion of playgrounds as Chicago, not noted as a paradise for children, it would have 180. Actually it has 44, and the end of June they were not yet opened, because of a squabble over control by the Jesuits, who are working to wrest them from the city direction. There are gang wars between French and English children, who are not encouraged to mix by parents or clergy.

An offer from the Carnegie Fund to establish a library was twice turned down, because the trustees would not consent that any book on the Index should be excluded. The city library has no special provision for children, nor any children's magazines in its reading-room. There are three small English children's libraries, no French. The choice of books is pretty well limited to comics, translated from English, or religious tracts.

Although French-Canadians often refer to their Church bitterly and sarcastically, and a few rebels send their children to English schools and take the consequences—if they are rich enough the consequences are not bad

at all—it is obvious that if they really wanted to get rid of it they could. They cling to it and keep on entrusting their children to its care, because to them it is an essential part of their culture. It defends their language and their rights. It is the only organization they trust to preserve their speech and way of life in the flood of Anglicization and Americanization they fear is engulfing them. They will continue to cling, until they feel assured their rights will be respected in a non-colonial, non-imperialist Canada. Once they are masters in their own house, with neither economic nor cultural domination, they will take care of their own clerics and politicians. Meanwhile, the rest of Canada is wary of them, because it fears clerical meddling. The children are the greatest sufferers from the impasse.

Last spring a young artist named Jori Smith held an exhibition of brilliantly painted pictures made on the lower St. Lawrence. Most were children's heads, and the striking thing in all of them was the contrast between the bright clothes and the terribly sad, solemn faces. What really ails the children of Quebec of course is poverty. Malnutrition and tuberculosis take their toll everywhere. The high infant mortality rates are an old story, twic Ontario's, higher in Trois Rivieres than i Bombay. Wages are low. When a man wit a dozen children earns less than $20 a weel in a textile mill, his children go into the mil too. In one airplane plant the manager had bad conscience about employing so man fourteen-year-olds, yet knew if he fired ther they would be worse off. So he started giv ing them a good noon-lunch. Those kid fairly bloomed, every one put on weigh The attitude of the Church to poverty is cor sistent; since this life is merely preparatio for the next, it is not important. High wage may lead to sinful spending and getting ou of control.

Conditions are changing for the better i the schools. Educational directors realize tha if their people are not to fall behind in mod ern life they must get some modern train ing. The delinquency problem is forcin some consideration of recreation. No mor schools will be built without playgrounds but meanwhile a generation is growing up Ignorant, ill-fed, sickly, timid, the majorit of children in Quebec have little reason t be gay.

DEMOCRACY—HERITAGE OF PROTESTANTISM

By MARK B. STRICKLAND

THERE are three main divisions in Christendom: The Greek Catholic (Orthodox) or Eastern Church, the Roman Catholic or Western Church and the Protestant Church. All of these units grew out of the Primitive Church which was unlike any of them but more nearly like the highly democratic organizations of such churches as the Baptist, Congregationalist and Disciple. The early Christians banded themselves together in small groups and lived as religious communities or families. They shared what they had with one another. Their concern was not with perpetuating a church. They anxiously awaited the return of Christ and the Judgment Day. This they believed would occur in the immediate future. Their organization was very simple. They were governed by the older men who because of character and wisdom were chosen to be their leaders. These men were called "Elders" and "Deacons". As one can see, this highly democratic institution was not unlike the organizational arrangement of many modern Protestant Churches. But they were not Protestant Churches, neither were they Roman or Greek Catholic. In fact, the early church was actually a Jewish Synagogue.

Slowly the church grew in strength and became institutionalized. The rapid increase in the number of converts led to many peculiar changes in the original organization. Many of the pagan celebrations and institutional forms developed their counterparts in the emerging Catholic Church. The growing strength of the Christians frightened the Roman authorities and persecution set in, reaching its peak in the year 303 A. D. The churches were leveled and driven underground where they continued their work with new zeal. Finally there came to the throne a shrewd politician and emperor by the name of

Constantine. Instead of persecuting the church he embraced her and made her the official religion of the empire. Thus did he imperialize the Christian Church. The result was further institutionalization and corruption. Pagan festivals now became Christian holy days. Catholicism was born. But even now the Church could hardly be called one church for authority was badly split. The East had four patriarchs and the West one who called himself the Pope. The main point of friction was the matter of graven images. The Western Church celebrated its services before the images of Jesus, Mary and the Saints. The Greek Church considered this a violation of Scripture and therefore worshipped before pictures or painted icons. Finally the Pope announced himself as head of Christendom. Thus was born the two divisions of the church, the Eastern and the Roman Church.

At this time there was no Protestant Church. For centuries the Catholic Church played a major part in the development of Europe. One cannot begin to estimate the tremendous good that she rendered society during this period. She was an important stabilizing force and culture-preserving medium. Along with the good there was also much evil. Freedom of belief and thought was not recognized, and, due to the ignorance of the times, there was much persecution, persecution which was later indulged in by Protestants as well as Catholics. By the thirteenth century man began his great struggle for enlightenment: science was being born. Men also began to rethink their religion and the Reformation was born. Even the Catholic Church herself was divided, more upon political than religious grounds. In 1378 there were two Popes claiming authority, one in Italy and one in France. Still another division was appearing. John Wyclif and Huss preached a return to the simpler doctrines and forms of the Primitive Church. They turned to Scripture as the final authority. Later, Martin Luther, a Roman Catholic Priest, defied the Church and announced his theses of Wittenberg which eventually led to his excommunication from the Roman Church, a thing which he had never intended should happen. Thus Protestantism was born.

As Protestants it is our conviction that there is no church which monopolizes truth. The Catholic, Protestant and Jew have their contributions to make. As Protestants, we believe that man has a right to choose his faith and that we should respect that right. We do not believe that there is one and only one church organization. We see the modern churches as a development in the history of religion and therefore attribute to no church the right to call herself the first, the last or only church. We believe, furthermore, that even our Catholic brethren of the Roman Church will come to recognize this statement and welcome us, not as heretics, but as brethren of a common faith, even as liberal Protestants now accept their Catholic brothers. The Protestant pulpit has welcomed the presence of Jewish Rabbis and stands ready to extend a similar greeting to Catholic Priests. As Protestants we are proud of our democratic heritage.

Let us now review the part Protestantism has played in the development of modern democracy. We have already seen how the Primitive Church was a uniquely democratic institution. Now we shall see how the Protestant idea of the Priesthood of the Believers has quite naturally led to the emancipation of man in the political area. The idea that every Christian was a priest before God made possible a new estimate of the worth of individual judgment. Man now became free to interpret his faith. Therefore, it naturally followed that Protestants put the Bible into the hands of all her people that they might read directly the word of God, which up until Luther's time was denied them.

It is due to this freedom that Prot-

estantism has so many sects. To some this may appear as a weakness, but to us it is a source of strength. Just as we believe there should be more than one political party so that there may be an interchange of ideas, so also do we believe that it is good for man to have the privilege of choosing his own religious community. Democrats, Socialists and Republicans can be good citizens and still disagree. We believe that people can likewise embrace different faiths and churches and still remain loyal Christians. In this kind of unity alone can man retain his spiritual freedom.

The earliest attempt at democratic freedom in England was led by Oliver Cromwell, an independent, who set up a kingless commonwealth from 1640 to 1660. His armies were made up of tradesmen and farmers, Protestants who fought to free the people from the tyranny of the nobles and the clergy. Although the movement proved premature it nevertheless was a beginning in the development of the commonwealth plan. As Dr. Howard Chidley, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Winchester, Massachusetts, has pointed out, it is no accident that the five great commonwealths of the world are Protestant in origin: the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The idea of personal liberty is intrinsically a part of the Protestant idea of Man.

American history is rich with the heritage of Protestant democracy. It was Roger Williams who first gave complete religious liberty to the settlers of America. Roger Williams, a Baptist, was pastor of the Church of Salem. His teachings proved unacceptable to the Puritans and he was banished from the colony in 1636. He settled at the head of Narrangansett Bay and purchased this land from the Indians. He named his new community Providence in acknowledgment of God's kindness. Later he received a charter and the settlement became officially "Rhode Island and Providence Plantation". Here was first established *complete religious liberty* this hemisphere.

The first act of self-government occur in the Americas was initiated b the Pilgrims who landed in Plymou in 1620. These Protestant Separatis from the Church of England drew up form of self-government while the were still aboard the Mayflower. N until they were annexed by the powerf Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay di they forego any of their more importa rights of human liberty.

It is true that Lord Baltimore in 163 founded a Catholic colony in Marylan which was open to all Christians. Th was a far step in the direction of lib erty. But it is to be remembered th Baltimore did not permit men the righ to disbelieve or to hold beliefs othe than those which could properly be de fined as Christians, and trinitarian a that.

I think it can safely be said that th American Constitution and especiall the Bill of Rights are distinctly th products of the Protestant mind. In fac the American Revolution was fathere by Protestant leaders of whom Georg Washington, Samuel Adams, Thoma Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin wer the most outstanding. Later Abraha Lincoln, an independent, made his nam immortal in the annals of liberty.

Another of the great contribution made by Protestantism to the develop ment of democracy has been in the fiel of education. The modern publi school in England is in part the out growth of the Sunday School. And earlier, when the Puritans first landed in America they insisted that two buildings receive prior consideration, the meeting house and the school. Even the town meeting which epitomizes New England democracy grew up simultaneously with the church. In fact, the town meetings were originally held in the meeting house or church. Protestants likewise can proudly point to their heritage in higher education. They have erected hundreds of colleges, not fo

e education of the privileged or the ergy alone, but for the common man. urthermore, Protestantism was first to cognize the importance of educating omen and later of giving them the anchise.

Our heritage, you can see, is rich with berty. Although we started a thousand ears after our sister church of Rome e already predominate in Great Britain, ustralia, Canada, the United States, e Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, weden, Denmark, Norway, Finland nd New Zealand. It is interesting to ote that all of these nations save one re normally democratic in government nd permit the complete freedom of orship and political faith.

One can see why Protestants are anxous that Church and State remain abolutely separate. Although we believe hat the Roman Catholic Church has a ight to support a position contrary to his, nevertheless, we remain firm in our onviction that religion should influence ut should never run nor be run by the tate, or even supported officially by the overnment as a state religion. As merican Protestants we believe we are horoughly democratic in this position.

We have dealt with Protestantism's elationship to religion and democracy, ow let us turn our attention to those lements of organization and belief hich distinguish us. Before doing this, owever, let me emphasize the fact that here are many things in our church hich we hold in common with the ther two divisions of Christendom. For xample, we agree upon the worship of ne God and accept Jesus Christ as our aster and guide. In fact, a majority f Protestants, like Catholics, accept hrist as the very Son of God. Furthermore, we believe in the Holy Spirit as he Presence of God dwelling with us. We also believe in the importance of a ellowship of believers and have organized churches to perpetuate the work f God's kingdom on earth. There are any other things we hold in common ut these are the major claims to unity.

As Protestants, however, we hold certain distinct beliefs. We believe in the freedom of conscience and soul. Every man is directly responsible to God for his thoughts and his acts. We concede to no man or organization the right to pass eternal judgment upon another. Consequently we cannot designate sin in any specific manner but consider all that violates God's will as being sinful. Man must therefore face God directly or through the mediation of Christ. Penance and retribution are not the result of earthly orders but felt as Divine commands which bear upon the soul through a direct consciousness of God's presence and will.

As Protestants we further believe that we can know God's will for us, not by any dogma of the church, but by life's experiences, and through prayer, worship and the services of the church.

We believe in the holy Catholic Church, or shall we say, to avoid confusion, the Church Universal. This includes in our minds all professing Christians. Protestants, Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics are alike included in our thinking. Though our Catholic friends do not as yet recognize this all inclusive nature of the Catholic Church, it is still our sincere hope that some day they shall see all professing Christians as members of the Spiritual Church of Christ. It is to be noted that Protestant and Catholic laity are actually beginning to act upon the above assumption, thus broadening the basis of religious toleration.

Protestants do not recognize any final authority as residing in the church or in any human leader of the church. In contrast, we recognize the freedom of church members to follow their own reason and conscience as they may be led by the Bible and the Holy Spirit.

Be glad that you are Protestants, but do not let your enthusiasm make you bigoted. Continue to pray for greater toleration and liberty, not only in political matters, but also in religion. So live in the spirit of good will.

IMPORTING HUNGARIAN FASCISM

By JOHN ROMAN

ON THE morning of January 7, 1941, a gentleman by the name of Dr. Tibor Kerekes entered the premises of the State Department in Washington. He was received by A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, and in the name of the American Hungarian Federation left behind a memorandum —a memorandum cloaked in "patriotic," super-democratic phraseology, and addressed to the President of the United States. What he "forgot" to tell Mr. Berle, or state in his deceptive document, is the fact that it carried the signatures of the trusted lieutenants of Hitler's ally, the founder of modern Fascism in Europe, Nicholas Horthy of Hungary. These signatories were as follows: Joseph Darago, Elemer Eordogh, S. F. Chernitzky, Marton Himler (at present abroad on a U. S. government assignment), Dr. F. Ujlaki, Dr. Tibor Kerekes. What Dr. Kerekes, secretary of the American Hungarian Federation, and the memorandum he left behind, also failed to state so conveniently and significantly follows:

1. The American Hungarian Federation, not unlike the now defunct German American Bund, was a front organization of the Fascist government of Hungary (and to this day remains the hot-bed of Fascist, anti-Semitic ideology.)

2. Five of the co-signers of the document were listed in the Budapest official records as members of the Fascist-Horthy propaganda world-center (Vilagszovetseg).

3. The depositing of this memorandum with the Department of State in Washington was a legalistic and political maneuver to mislead the Government of the United States, and by thorough white-washing of the American Hungarian Federation and profuse demonstration of "loyalty," further enable the organization to fulfill its role as the front organization of Hungarian Fascism in the United States.

This visit of Dr. Kerekes to the State Department and the warm reception he claimed to have received were publicized in scores of American newspapers, printed in Hungarian, and generally known either for their pro-Horthy sympathies or for their adherence to the Hungarian Federation.

Dr. Kerekes' visits to the State Department did not end with the above mentioned incident. He found it suited his purpose to publicize another of his State Department calls, one which had occurred just about a year ago, on August 25, 1943. This time he had been accompanied by two fellow le ers of the Hungarian Federation and had emerged with Government "endor ment" and "complete approval" of the acti ties of the Federation. Not satisfied w this, Dr. Kerekes had simultaneously pull another "rabbit" out of his cape: this ti a complete acquittal by the Department Justice, of all charges of "Fascist activit and "fifth columnism."

With pomp and noise, clearly reminisce of Dr. Goebbels at his best, ninety-five p cent of Hungarian language publication the United States headlined and featured t newly-acquired respectability of the Fede tion and the "unmistakable" official gover mental endorsement.

Hungarian-American opponents of t Fascist-Horthy regime, liberal civic leade educators, clergymen were taken aback the sudden and unexpected development ju when it seemed that the Federation was o its last leg and about to terminate its i famous career. No one, indeed, could po sibly conceive that the official statement Dr. Kerekes (professor at the Georgetow University) and his Federation could hav been thorough misrepresentation,—or to pu it more accurately—"political forgery"!

The *Magyar Jovo,* Hungarian Daily Jou nal, addressed a memorandum of inquiry an protest to Secretary of State Cordell Hul It had fallen upon this writer to intervie officials of the State and Justice Depar ments. State Department officials refute the Federation claims orally, and in a subse quent letter sent to this writer (Septembe 8, 1943), signed by Hugh Fullerton, As sistant Chief of European Affairs, the claim of the Hungarian Federation were refuted i writing. A similar step was taken by Le Gitlin on behalf of the Enemy Alien Con trol Unit of the Department of Justice.

Whatever has come to pass since l'affair Kerekes, the fact is that the Hungarian Fed eration survived and actively operates from its Washington headquarters. The available documents, however, do tell the story.

Budapest is a remarkable city . . . and i 1938—it was still safe for Fascism! In the royal castle, His Excellency Nicholas Horthy, Fascist regent of the kingless kingdom of Hungary, was listening to Elemer Eordogh, spokesman of the American Hungarian Federation, who on behalf of the delegations from abroad was busily engaged in pledging loyalty to the Fascist head of a foreign state:

"It is with deep attachment that we, representatives of Hungarians from all

over the world, appear before your highly honored Excellency . . . to offer the depth of our attachment and our loyalty . . ."

This pledge of loyalty was occasioned by e world congress of the parent organiza- n of the American Hungarian Federation, e Vilagszovetseg, Budapest world-center of ngarian Fascist propaganda. If the words the Federation spokesman were character- ic, so were the utterances of the chief Hun- rian Nazi, Bela Imredy, then Prime Minis- of Hungary:

"There is great work ahead of us . . . You, too, dear members of Hungarian blood of a foreign land . . . I know that you will always remain loyal followers, propagandists, conveyors of those objec- tives with which this nation travels its own path of history."

Let us visit the Budapest conference of e Hungarian world-center of Fascist propa- nda. No magic is needed, only the ver- tim, official records which happen to be the writer's possession.

Joseph Darago, chief link between the merican Hungarian Federation and the ungarian government circles, is in the air:

"Honorable Congress! Our President, His Excellency Perenyi, is occupied else- where. . . . I call upon His High Honor, Karoly Nagy to present the proposals."

As we listen to the words of Dr. Nagy, e should remember that he was a high nking officer of the Fascist police assigned conduct the affairs of the parent organiza- on of the American Hungarian Federation.

Dr. Nagy: "We propose that the Hun- garian World Federation elect as its Chief Sponsor His High Excellency, the Knight of Nagybanya, Nicholas Horthy. (Pro- longed cheering and applause) . . . We propose . . . as honorary president, the election of Mr. Joseph Darago (cheers and applause), Mr. John Dezso (cheering and applause), Dr. Ferenc Ujlaki . . ." (All three were leaders of the American Hun- garian Federation movement. J. R.)

Dr. Karoly Nagy: "Deeply honored Congress! We ask the approval of two things so that the World Federation may function without any obstacles.

"Be kind enough to empower the leader- ship so that if THE HUNGARIAN ROYAL GOVERNMENT ORDERS CHANGES IN REGARD TO THE BY- LAWS these changes could take effect . . ." (Emphasis J. R.)

Joseph Darago: "Honorable Congress! You've heard the proposal. It is NECES- SARY that this be carried. I ask that those who are for it say yes (loud excla- mations YES). I declare it carried."

And so, as the world congress of the Hun- garian Fascist propaganda machine came to its inevitable close, the Hungarian govern- ment, formally and otherwise, had estab- lished complete control over it.

The objectives of the Vilagszovetseg were to tie up organizations and individuals of Hungarian origin with the "Hungarian motherland." The Minister of the Interior of the Hungarian Fascist government had complete control over the Vilagszovetseg. No decision could become final without *"the approval of the Hungarian Royal Minister of Interior."* (By-laws, paragraph 16.)

The parent organization of the American Hungarian Federation did receive the re- quired approval. The number of this of- ficial document is 175695. It was signed by Dr. Paskandy, ministerial counselor, Hun- garian Royal Minister of Interior. (Docu- mentary proofs available.)

The present Hungarian Federation ex- ploited the old charter of a similarly named organization so as to hide the fact that it was established on the eve of the second World Conference of the Budapest center of Horthy propaganda.

Just about this time in 1938 a Dr. Istvan Antal was in charge of Hungarian Fascist propaganda. His right-hand man, Dr. Ivan Nagy, came to the United States to launch the Hungarian Federation and to discuss the details of the scheduled Budapest con- ference. Both Antal and Nagy were in close contact with E. W. Bohle, head of the Nazi agency for foreign propaganda (Gauleiter der Auslandorganization).

Both the Hungarian and the Nazi propa- ganda centers held their so-called world con- ference in the same month of 1938. Antal had spent three days in Berlin just before the Hungarian congress. His mission was specifically to discuss mutual problems with Goebbel's ministerium.

At the time of the Budapest conference Austria was already part of Nazi Germany. Less than six months later Horthy became Hitler's official partner in the so-called anti- Comintern pact. Three weeks later, March 15, in the same year, Horthy won his re- ward: parts of conquered Czechoslovakia thrown to him by Hitler. On November 20, 1940, Horthy signed up as a full-fledged member of the Rome-Berlin Axis. After the outbreak of the present World War, as late as October 21, 1939, the American Hungarian Federation here was in receipt of a letter from the Budapest Fascist center, telling the Federation leaders: *"Our friendly connections should remain the foundation*

of OUR work FOR AMERICAN HUNGARIANS."

In view of all this it is not hard to see how the Federation became a "hot-bed" of Fascist ideology in the United States and an instrument for propaganda in behalf of the industrial-feudal clique of Hungary.

Since the outbreak of World War II it has become increasingly an agency for the dual foreign policy of the Horthy regime.

And what was the dual policy of the Hungarian Fascist regime? To win with Hitler if Hitler wins, to win with the Allies if Hitler loses! Thus the Federation continued to whitewash the Hungarian Fascist regime and presented it as a helpless victim of circumstances. At the same time, it made a strong bid to build up Tibor Eckhardt, stormtrooper, anti-Semite, secret emissary of Horthy, as an "opposition" leader and tried to create a sham "Free Hungary Movement" in the United States. The idea was to have Eckhardt recognized by the U. S. State Department and the British Government, so that if Hitler is defeated, Eckhardt could return to Hungary and take power with the support of the British and American Governments. Thus, the Hungarian feudal-industrial Fascist clique could perpetuate its power in the post-war world.

The Federation operates by appealing to nationalistic sentiments and under the cloak of "loyalty to the Hungarian motherland." It will use super-democratic and American patriotic phraseology, if need be. It will buy ambulances and sell bonds. In spite of this enough evidence existed to "hang them." What saved them—in all probability—was the "statute of limitation," for in the past three or four years they became extremely careful. Especially after Pearl Harbor they started "going on record" as a humble servant of the great cause of democracy. "Democracy" oozed from their proclamations and resolutions during their frequent pilgrimages to our State Department.

Meanwhile, however, they try to destroy the Hungarian-American Council for Victory of New York, headed by such churchmen as Rev. Takaro and Luis Toth. In the same manner they attack all organizations supporting the democratic anti-Horthy Hungarian Council headed by the exiled President of the Hungarian Republic, Count Karolyi. They also attack the Council of Hungarian-American Trade-Unionists, a win-the-war movement.

The Federation group is closely associated with such self-confessed "Hitler-lovers" as Rev. Sigismund Ladanyi, and racial theorist anti-Semites as Rev. Charles Papp, Rev. Julius Melegh, and George Borshy-Kere Even though the Federation has "obtain the cooperation of a few editors and law of Jewish origin for the purpose of "wind dressing," in its fight against democr it uses anti-Semitic incitement as a m weapon. For example: In November, 19 the Hungarian-American Council for Dem racy, a nation-wide win-the-war, anti-Hor organization, headed by Bela Lugosi, Ho wood actor, was to hold a local meeting McKeesport, Pa. The Federation follow in this town (elements around the *Am kai Magyar Nepszava newspaper*) attacl the meeting as a "Jew-meeting" and in whispering campaign to undermine it, t have spread the rumor that "Bela Lug the Jew, will come to the Jew-meeting Jewish ceremonial attire." (Written te mony of witnesses available.) Actually B Lugosi is a Roman Catholic. This is char teristic.

Since the invasion of Hungary and bolstering of the Horthy-Stoyai regime Hitler, the "Jewish question" became tremely acute in Hungarian-American li The wave of popular indignation at fate of close to a million Jews in Hung has placed the Federation on the spot. made public gestures and utterances for sake of the record, while Federation lead tried to "crucify" those who took the Fe eration at its word!

When in June, 1944, the Reformed Fe eration, an organization of some 20,0 members, had its convention in Ligoni Pa., the Hungarian Federation leaders, w control the top machinery of the Reform Federation, blocked all attempts to fig anti-Semitism. A resolution was propos with the intent that services of intercessi for the persecuted Jews of Hungary be he in all Hungarian-language Reformed church in the United States. A special meeting clergymen attending the convention w called by Rev. Geza Takaro, supported Rev. Antal Szabo and others.

The passing of the resolution was blocke pandemonium broke loose. As the Chi Superintendent of the First Magyar R formed Church of New York City write

> "Be it remembered to the eternal sham of the Hungarian Reformed Clergy the United States that when they receive a suggestion to hold services of interce sion for the persecuted Jews of Hunga who are being slaughtered by the tho sands, these clergymen . . . these true di ciples of Christ shouted down the sugge tion."

To repeat: The Federation leaders mak it a habit (ever since Pearl Harbor and eac time they get into "hot water") to com

th with public statements against azism," "communism," and "anti-Semit-." What they do off the record is re-cted not only in the "incident" that oc-red at the Hungarian Reformed Federa-i convention, but is even more clearly lected in the following:

"From the first moment on, I felt and protested in my heart the fact that the Jews make capital of the privilege of suffering . . . In this action of theirs I see the expression of the mentality which they manifest in the field of other en-deavors: disregarding everybody else, they use every possible and impossible method for their own benefit and advancement . . Why don't the Jews speak about the real cause of the unquestionable antag-onism against them; about their shame-less, and . . . unscrupulous elbowing which they can successfully realize only by un-hesitating exploitation of every opportunity which is favorable to them. They actually form a trust for the purpose of robbing others and advancing themselves morally and materially. They personify the prin-ciple 'Money talks!' They have to suffer for it . . . Shouldn't the Jews feel that first of all they are responsible for pro-voking it? . . . It is out of the question to have them withdraw, or even restrain their policy of exploitation which they so provokingly employ in the film industry, commerce, the money market—and every-where! On the contrary, they point to-ward their wounds and come forth with new demands . . . B. Kerekes was abso-lutely correct. He only spoke what's in his heart . . .!!"

The B. (Borshy) Kerekes referred to in e letter is one of the most influential ders of the Federation. The author of the ter is Rev. Julius Melegh, a lieutenant of rekes and the Hungarian Federation.

I referred to the rebuke the Federation eived from the State and Justice Depart-ents and the subsequent revelation that e Federation misrepresented all claims of ficial blessing. Previous to this "incident," e Federation tried to "sell" to the Gov-ment the notorious Tibor Eckhardt. Fail-; in reality, they accomplished this in fiction, tting forth the claim that the Eckhardt ovement-in-exile" was recognized by the ited States Government. Only a formal ial by the then Acting-Secretary of State mner Welles managed to put an end to at was about to develop into a major litical scandal. Not quite a year ago (De-nber, 1943,) the name of Secretary of te Cordell Hull was utilized by the Hun-rian Federation group. One of their ders, Rev. Stephen Chernitzky (listed in available documents as a member of the Vilagszovetseg) "re-wrote" Secretary Cordell Hull's report to Congress. Rev. Chernitzky is the editor of *A Mi Lapunk,* a Bridgeport weekly. According to Chernitzky's verbatim "translation" of Hull's speech, the Secretary of State demanded the restoration of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This instance of unscrupulous "political forgery" was committed in the service of pro-Hapsburg propaganda, which with the defeat of the Tibor Eckhardt maneuver, is rather intensified in some sections of the Federation movement.

Opponents of Horthy Fascism, led by the *Magyar Jovo,* Hungarian Daily Journal, liberal weeklies such as the Chicago *Magyar Tribune,* the New York *Az Ember,* and the *Harc* have joined battle against the Federation. Slowly but surely some of the most conservative groups began to view the Federation with reservation or open contempt.

What of the war objectives of the American people and their Government if Hungary remains feudal and Fascist? Strategic Hungary is the key to the democratization of Central Europe. There can be no democratic Central Europe if Hungary remains feudal-Fascist. There can be no lasting peace for the people of America or the peoples of the world unless all the roots of Fascism are eradicated in every part of the world. But the Hungarian Fascist fifth column in America represents a danger also in that they are natural allies of anti-labor reaction and native Fascism in the United States itself.

The Hungarian Federation, supported by two daily papers and a score of weeklies all over the United States, is as active as ever. Following the occupation of Hungary by Hitler, some leaders of Hungarian American democratic thought hoped to sway the Federation from its course. All that has happened thus far is that Elemer Eordogh returned the medal which Dictator Horthy had bestowed upon him. Was this merely for the records? Whatever the case, the Federation pursues its original course!

This case history of a fifth column in America can be properly evaluated only if in place of "Hungarian" one substitutes Polish, Jugoslav, Italian, German, Latvian, Lithuanian, and other nationalities. The "Hungarian situation" indicates a huge all-embracing pattern.

What the *Nowy Swiat* had to say on an all-important subject is of special interest (March 21, 1942:)

"One must not tell the Poles, French, Turks, Letts, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Serbs—'fight'—because when Hitler is

conquered with your help, you will be given over to the 'benevolent' care of Stalin."

The fact that Mr. Wgryzinek, a Polish American, claims ownership in both the Polish language paper *Nowy Swiat* as well as the chief organ of the Hungarian Federation, the *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava,* is of additional interest. Here are other quotations from here and there, covering the past three years:

"Fully conscious of what we are writing here, we can assure all interested in the political campaign in 1944 that, if Roosevelt refuses to aid Poland—or even if he would try to avoid making a clear and open statement on the side of justice—these six million Polish votes can be crossed from his party and his considerations beforehand."

(*Dziennik Polski,* organ of the Polish reactionaries, Detroit, January, 1944.)

"The longer Germany and Russia fight the better for all peoples who love freedom . . . As two gigantic serpents, they bleed each other. Neither one nor the other should win."

(*Ausma,* Latvian newspaper, Boston, January, 1943.)

"America and England today are fighting not for the freedom of all nations but for the salvation of the British Empire, and for turning over to the Asiatic communists of Europe at least some part of it."

Julius Smetona, in an article in *Dirva,* Lithuanian newspaper, Cleveland, December 31, 1943.)

"We, as Latvians, know for sure: we did not provoke this war and it is not our war."

(*Drauga Vests,* Latvian newspaper, New York, October, 1942.)

"Any Slovak organization may become a member of the League of Slovak Clubs, regardless of political, religious or other affiliations, but non-Christians are not to be admitted . . ."

(Report by Jewish Telegraphic Agency of New York meeting of thirteen Slovak-American organizations.)

"In spite of our heads, our hearts u us to give three cheers for Hitler and unbelievably efficient legions . . ."

(*Juanimas,* Lithuanian newspaper, C cago, July, 1941.)

"The German advance upon Soviet R sia made me very happy. Notwithstand the fact that the Germans may beco the rulers of my fatherland, I am sad . . ."

(P. Lapiene, in a column in *Vienb* Lithuanian newspaper, New York, Ju 27, 1941.)

"When Germany will be defeated, th will be no other nation existing to prev the Russians from becoming the p dominant power of the Continent. A this would be an extremely annoying s uation for Great Britain. Then the Brit perhaps would recognize that the mu defamed Neville Chamberlain, the m with the umbrella, was calculating not wrong when he tried to conserve Germa as a bulwark against the Russians."

(*Staats Anzeiger,* German newspap North Dakota, January 7, 1944.)

These words, needless to say, are not u tered in a vacuum, nor are they simply new paper comments. According to data of t Office of War Information, 10 million pe ple in the United States are reached by pu lications printed in foreign languages. A behind the words of some of the forei language publications there are organiz movements, powerful pro-Fascist forces work, preying upon millions of American

One gets the full meaning of all this one remembers that there are 14 millio immigrants in this country. There are a proximately 26 million first generatio Americans—children of the foreign bor Forty million people, almost one-third of t nation . . .! What proportion these pr Fascist groups can directly influence cann be determined exactly. But one thing certain. The disunity created not on threatens the successful conduct of this w but can also turn America into a fruitf hunting ground for native American Fascist

FACTS AND OPINIONS

By FRANZ SCHOENBERNER

I AM alternately startled, amused and annoyed by the deep fundamentalist faith in "facts," an almost superstitious belief professed by a large part of public opinion in America, but evidently more characteristic of "right thinking" than of "left thinking" people.

Whenever you discuss with a more con servative man an article, a pamphlet or book exposing and documenting certai political or economic nuisances, your inter locutor unfailingly will object that the crit ical writer gives "opinions instead o facts."

When our old friend Senator Burton K

Vheeler, as Chairman of the Senate Inter-ate Commerce Committee, defends the Vheeler-White Radio Bill, he is terribly oncerned with the principle that radio ommentators should not express opinions, ut limit themselves strictly to the purely ctual. He insists that "opinions should e labeled beyond all possibilities of con-usion with facts."

I have the suspicion that—to put it in a utshell—these people label and even dis-redit as "merely opinions" all those facts hich they don't like, embarrassing facts ontradicting their own opinions. I say discredit" because of the even more gen-ral tendency to define "opinions" as more r less accidental accessories, as purely sub-ective, irrelevant expressions of personal aste without any criterion of right or rong, true or false, like the question hether you like your steak raw or well one. Whereas "facts" that means the ob-ective, absolute truth, the whole truth and othing but the truth, as chemically pure f human error as if produced in a test ube.

Unfortunately (or rather fortunately) wo things are wrong with this conception: 1) What we call "opinions" is not a econdary, but the primary element of our erception. The so-called "facts" on the ontrary are secondary. Facts are what we nake of them. Every fact is based upon a onscious or unconscious "opinion"; it is erceived with and through a subjective iew.

(2) This subjective view or opinion can e objectively right or wrong, that means n harmony with, or in disharmony to the asic standards of the "natural law" which s not only a moral, but at the same time a ational and empirical law, the concordant esult of age-old human experience, ex-ressed in all great religions and all great hilosophies.

The superficial moral and intellectual elativism of our time regards the discus-ion of opinions like a baseball game. The un is to see who "wins" (by whatever ricks), who gets the better of the other in he debate. The outcome remains without ny obligation to the public because, of ourse, the Yanks and the Giants are both equally "right" whoever wins. Everybody an go away with the comfortable feeling hat there are evidently different opinions, one as good as the other, though more or less ably defended, and that after all no-body is obliged to have an opinion or to "take sides."

The minister preaches about Sin. He is against it. So, what? Wilson 25 years ago expressed the opinion or even conviction that only international collaboration could prevent a next world war. Some isolation-ist congressmen were (and are) against it. So, what? Apart from the natural law, the only criterion of right or wrong opinions is practical experience, a tragic experience if and when the wrong opinion prevails. But at least the irrefutable decision of such an empirical test should be accepted as final and indisputable.

To go a step farther: Only from the vantage point of the right opinion, only with the right view, are you able to see the right and true facts. There are indeed right and wrong facts or even right or wrong figures. What is called "facts" is often nothing else than the arbitrary result of a distorted and distorting view. You can find your facts and figures "proving" your presuppositions how and where you please. It is an old saying that there are three sorts of lies: the common lie, the damned lie and statistics.

PM once disclosed the ingenious little trick by which the august *Times* arrived at the conclusion that under the Treasury plan taxes on individuals earning more than $300,000 would exceed their in-comes. The *Times* had simply forgotten to take into account one whole year's income, the taxes on which were, of course, not for-gotten. Just as with the gentle art of jug-gling figures, you can do a lot with facts in the way of presenting, arranging or even omitting. You can for example publish a report or even "full text" of a Henry Wal-lace speech in which one main paragraph, containing substantial accusations against Standard Oil, is conspicuously missing, the more conspicuously because the next day you publish Standard Oil's indignant refutation.

In such cases there is no need to refer to Freud and his "subconscious censorship" in order to find a plausible explanation for certain deficiencies of memory. But we may remember in this context the well-

known pre-Freudian experiments on the psychology of eye witnesses. The tests proved that the simplest incident is not perceived in exactly the same way by different witnesses, . . . let alone such a complex fact as, for example, Victor Emanuel's reception in Naples. It was "cool" according to the one, warm to the point of "ovations" according to the other of the two eye witnesses reporting for the two most "objective" New York papers. Without questioning the professional integrity of the reporters, I dare say that their feeling for temperature was influenced by their (perhaps unconscious) opinion.

Except for the findings of so-called "exact" sciences—mathematics, chemistry and physics—there are no such things as purely "objective" facts without any sort of personal interpretation and evaluation. The very perception of facts, and especially the selection of facts to be or not to be perceived is determined by a conscious or unconscious "opinion," the personal viewpoint of the observer, sometimes, as in the case of an astigmatism or of color-blindness, by his specific disability.

The human eye and the human brain are not infallible precision instruments registering objective "facts" like the photographic lens. And, by the way, even the photographic lens is very apt to lie whenever the man behind the camera wants it to do so. We know this not only from trick films or propaganda pictures, but from society photographs and even from newsreels.

The same is true for the findings of Science with the capital S in the field of history, sociology, economics. The proceeding of these less "exact" sciences is not, as it pretends to be, inductive, but deductive. The real point of departure is the "opinion" of the scholar, his disposition, his basic attitude towards man and world. His leading idea determines his "facts" which, assembled with more or less intellectual integrity and skill, are bound to lead with "scientific certainty" to his foregone conclusions.

Why then not be frank and honest about it, even in the press of "objective information"? Why not make an open declaration of intention instead of clinging desperately to the impossible and improper fiction of "pure facts" which after all are nothing else than disguised opinions?

Sometimes, for some topics—why yes, in Topics of the Times—the trick of "objectivity" seems used for the special purpose of eliminating or at least minimizing hard facts, unpleasant facts, by labeling them "opinions," unfounded opinions of course.

With an inimitable air of grandfatherly superiority we are told for example that people often are terrorized by some catchwords or slogans like, let us say, the word "cartels." But what really are cartels? asks smilingly—his tongue in his white bewhiskered cheek—our grandpa who knows best. Why, nothing else than harmless business associations for fixing prices. There is nothing to be afraid of. There is no devil around. You can quietly go to bed, little kid, and don't forget your prayers for the good uncles of Standard Oil and I. G. Farben.

We have to get rid of this kind of facts. We have to have opinions as the first prerequisite for giving value and meaning to facts. We have to solidify by an act of faith and of clear thought our opinions in convictions which force us to "take sides." Otherwise we will end by regarding even this life and death struggle between Fascism and Democracy merely as a "matter of opinion."

Senator Nye already declared that he can't see why the Germans should not have a Fascist government if they want. He probably doesn't even see why the Americans should not have a Fascist government —provided it is not Roosevelt's "dictatorship." The *Times* devoted almost a full page to a declaration of General Basso, one of our more recent Fascist allies who now defends democracy and the Italian King. He explained, it was not the King, but the Italian people who wanted Mussolini so badly. The King only followed the popular will and Basso followed the King and both followed Mussolini and everybody was a good democrat all the time and just for this reason a good Fascist. It sounds rather complicated, but these are General Basso's "facts" and "fit to print."

The distinguished editors of our great papers—are evidently too busy with facts and objectivity and "hearing both sides"; to find out what their own opinions really are.

PROTESTANT AND JEW

A series of sermons and papers by eminent Protestant churchmen compiled and edited by Rev. Dr. Joshua Bloch

INTRODUCTION

The Rev. Dr. David Hummell Greer (1844-1919), *of Irish descent, was born in Wheeling, West Virginia. The son of a merchant, he was educated in the schools of his native city and graduated from Washington (now Washington and Jefferson) College in* 1862. *For a brief time he was engaged in teaching and studied law but finally he decided upon a career in the ministry and entered the theological school of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Gambier, Ohio. Prior to coming to New York he had ministered to churches in Clarksburg, W. Va.* (1866-1868), *Covington, Ky.* (1868-1871) *and Providence, R. I.* (1872-1888). *He had completed nearly fifteen years of fruitful service as rector of St. Bartholomew's Parish before he was elected in* 1903 *bishop coadjutor of the diocese of New York. Upon the death of Bishop Potter in* 1908, *he became the head of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of New York. His influence was felt in every sphere of communal endeavor and upon his death in May* 1919 *he was mourned by multitudes, even outside his own denomination, who had come under the spell of his influence. Among his writings are* The Historical Christ, The Moral Power of History (1890); The Preacher and His Place (1895) *and others. There is a good biography of* David Hummell Greer, *Eighth Bishop of New York, by Charles Lewis Slattery, New York,* 1921.

THE TEST OF CREEDS

By DAVID HUMMELL GREER

[Excerpts from Bishop Greer's address delivered at the exercises commemorating the Two Hundred and Fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States, held in New York City on Thanksgiving Day, November 30, 1905, and are reprinted from *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* Number 14, New York, 1906.]

SCATTERED all over the face of the earth, under all governments and in all countries, the Hebrew race has had, without a government and without a country, for nearly two thousand years, a cohesive nationality, which no disaster has destroyed, no misfortune weakened, no lapse of time impaired. Other nationalities in the history of the world, and some of them very great and apparently the strongest, as though they were destined forever to endure, have risen and run their course and fallen down, or fallen in, and perished and ceased to be. But here is a nationality which, through all the changing experiences and vicissitudes of the centuries, has not only preserved but extended its dominion, has not only survived but flourished and advanced; which, without losing or compromising itself, has nevertheless inspirited itself into nearly all the other nations of the world, and whose quickening and vital energy, as George Eliot observes, is beating today in the pulses, unnoted and uncredited, of many millions of people.

And what a long muster-roll of eminent names it has! From Moses, the great lawgiver and Hebrew teacher of righteousness, to Moses Mendelssohn, the great philosophic thinker and apostle of Hebrew culture; from Isaiah, the man of vision, to Spinoza, the God-intoxicated man; and many more of other days, and yet in some respects at least of scarcely lesser note, of those who have contributed in letters and in art, in philosophy and jurisprudence, philanthropy and religion, in science and in song, to the welfare of the world. For what department is there, as a Christian writer testifies, of social or civil economy, that has not been and is not now illustrated and adorned by the unconquerable genius, the unimpaired vigor, the unslackened energy, the immortal youth, of this so ancient nation! Surely it is a story among the stories of the nations, exceptional and

unique, and I wonder not at your pride in it; and although I am not of you, I can share it with you, reserving my astonishment with some impatience in it for those who have and feel such rancorous and churlish prejudice against you. Or is it jealousy of you? That there have been, and that there are, unworthy, ignoble, and degraded Jews, no one will deny, and least of all you. But that is not a fact peculiar to your race. It is true of every race, Christian as well as Jewish. But there is this further fact of which you may be proud, that no matter how degraded the Jew may become, a man who loves his home, as Lord Beaconsfeld said, is never wholly lost; and the Jew, therefore, he adds, is never wholly demoralized; for, with the patriarchal feeling, even in his lowest and deepest degradation, still lingering about his heart, the Jew loves his home.

But the character of a people, like the character of a person, should not be measured by its worst, but rather by its best; not by the depths into which it has at times sunken and declined, but rather by the heights to which it has attained; and reckoned by that rule and by that standard judged, Israel's rank is high. And the story of Israel's people is the story of a race which from that little borderland upon the midland sea has been moving on and on with an inexhaustible vigor, through all the lands, and all the many and various forms of their unfolding life, until it reached this land; not only here more freely its own destiny to fulfill, but to become thereafter a factor in the destiny of this land.

It was in that eventful year, when America was discovered, that the terrible persecution of the Jews in Europe began, which led to their expulsion from France, Spain, Portugal, and which in its immediate effects was more disastrous than even the destruction of Jerusalem. And what a long and painful and cruel story it is! Yes, and what a strange one! Because it is the story of a persecution wrought, or at all events inspired, by a religious faith which claimed to have and hold as one of its cardinal tenets the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and which declared it to be the highest duty of man to love God with all his heart, and his neighbor as himself. It might therefore be supposed, naturally and logically, that those who held that faith, or who professed to hold it, would at least be tolerant of those who held it not, because, although they held it not, they were still their neighbors, and, so that faith declared, closer yet—their brothers. But neighborhood and brotherhood, however much they may have been recognized for others, furnished no protection or refuge for the Jew. From all such asylum or sanctuary privilege he was excluded, not because he was a sinner above all other sinners, but because he was a Jew. That was the great and heinous crime which he would not forego, and others would not forget, for which he was made a pariah and an outcast, unshielded by the state, unsheltered by the church, and with a cruel oppression victimized by both. Some have attempted to show that this was chiefly the work of the state and not so much of the church, and thus have tried to excuse at least, if not to acquit, the church. I wish it were true, but I cannot so read my history. I read, on the contrary, that the state was at times in advance of the church, or in advance of what was called the prevailing Christian opinion, in its disposition to grant certain rights and privileges to the Jew. I read, for instance, that in the year 1753 a bill was introduced into Parliament for the naturalization of all the Jews who had been three years in the kingdom, and that, although it passed both Houses and received the royal assent, there was such a virulent clamor and opposition to it, not only by the populace but also by the clergy, that the obnoxious measure had to be repealed.

But this is only one of the many similar cases which have in the record of Christendom appeared, to stain it and to shame it. And while, of course, there is and can be no apology for them, yet to the student of human nature there is, perhaps, some explanation of them. For religious toleration is an art, a fine and a high art, difficult to learn, and few there be who learn it; and even those who learn it soon proceed to unlearn it, or else to apply it chiefly to the elect, by which, of course, they mean chiefly to themselves. Fleeing from the tyranny, civil and religious, of the mother country, the Puritan fathers came to find here a home, or establish here a state, where they might enjoy without let or hindrance that great human privilege of a

erfectly free conscience, which had been enied them in their other state and home. And they did find it, and they did enjoy it; nd then proceeded to enact that no one or the time to come should be admitted to he freedom of the body politic except such s were members of some of the Puritan hurches within the limits of the same. Nowhere among the early American colonies was the principle of religious toleraion more clearly and fully asserted, and or a time at least more consistently held nd practiced, than in Rhode Island and Maryland. Upon that principle of relioous toleration both of them were ounded, especially Rhode Island, where, eeing from the bigotry of Massachusetts Bay, Roger Williams had proclaimed and nstilled into the people of those Proviience Plantations his great soul-liberty octrine. And yet, as Judge Daly states, vhile both those colonies started with the roadest recognition of the rights of concience as the prerogative and privilege of ll who should settle in them, in little nore than a century, one construed those ights as applying only to Christians, and he other as only to Christians of a paricular denomination.

Thus do we find that even here in America, in the free and broad expanse of his American soil, free enough and broad nough for all sincere convictions, freedom f conscience has been a plant of slow and truggling growth. And yet that slow and struggling growth has had the good effect to give it deeper and stronger root and to make it more secure, that so at last it might become, as at last it has become, the recognized prerogative and privilege of all in this American land to give to all of every faith its glad and grateful shelter. Religious differences exist, and they will exist. And yet, however high the separating wall, it does not and it cannot wholly separate because that freedom-of-conscience plant has in this land become, like the tribal blessing of Joseph, a good and fruitful bough whose branches run over the wall. The wall may exist, the walls do exist; but they are covered and adorned in this land with the beneficent principle of religious toleration which makes them not like battle walls, to garrison hostile camps, but rather more like garden walls, inclosing friendly faiths, where each may have the chance to freely grow and flourish, and by the fruitage which it bears, in character and life, in manhood and womanhood, and in civic excellence, to prove and show its relative worth and make its value seen.

That is the test to which the creeds should come, must come, and are coming —yours and mine and all; and to which sooner or later the nations, too, must come; not to the gage of battle, but rather to that friendly rivalry in righteousness whose peaceable fruits shall determine which is the stronger nation and which the more excellent creed. Then will all oppression and all persecution cease.

REVOLUTION OR CHEESE CAKE

By GREGORY VLASTOS

SO LONG as man makes history, so long ideas will be important. For deas express what kind of history he is rying to make. That is why we should top once in a while and take a good look t the changing intellectual landscape.

To be sure, we ourselves are part of he transition. We adopt the new slogans, repeat them, pass them on to others. The lavor of novelty wears off, and what at irst seemed excitingly new soon assumes he obviousness of an axiom. For that very reason it is important to take stock of these new ideas—not because they are new to us, but precisely because we are in danger of forgetting how new they actually are.

Take the idea of "social security." Beveridge translates the idea into the social realities of present-day Britain, and over a quarter million people rush to buy his book—a forbidding document, as far removed from cheese-cake as anything could possibly be. Why?

I asked myself that question in London in the late fall of 1942, just after the Beveridge Report had appeared. I expected to find it promising nothing short of

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affluence to the millions who queued up for half a block to buy a copy from the government's stationery office near Aldwych. I was astonished to find how slender were the promised rates: 56 shillings—$12.50—a week for an unemployed couple with two children. What is all the excitement about, I asked myself?

The answer to my perplexity, and the key to the whole concept of "social security" was in another question: How did Beveridge arrive at that figure of 56 shillings a week? He got it from social scientists like Rowntree. It was their estimate of the minimum of social decency for a British family. Around one-third of the British people were living below that standard in the thirties. The Beveridge plan was a declaration of war against that condition. That was why, meager as it might seem to me, those 56 shillings a week had revolutionary importance to the man in the street in Britain.

There is nothing new about good will towards the submerged third. The lot of the slum-dweller has long disturbed the conscience of sensitive men. A hundred years ago John Stuart Mill was haunted by the thought of the industrial worker, whose misery and bondage was the price of the prosperity and freedom of "liberal" Britain. So have many others.

But "social security" today means more than a twinge of conscience for sensitive souls. It means that the lot of the submerged third moves from the uneasy fringes of social consciousness to dead center. It means that Freedom from Want is accepted not as a pious hope, but as a definite demand to be implemented within the calculable future. In the thinking of the average man this marks a revolutionary change—the kind of change that cannot be undone by later swings of the social pendulum.

The same is true of "full employment". Like social security, this idea too has long occupied the minds of reformers, radicals, utopian idealists, or revolutionary realists. In that sense there is nothing new about it. No one is quite so stupid as to fail to entertain it as a desirable possibility.

But is it practicable? Can we plan for it, as we plan for proper water supply and sewage disposal in a modern city? Up until very recently most people would hav answered regretfully, "No". Right in th middle of the depression ten years ag most people accepted unemployment wit a kind of pious fatalism. Even the casua ties of the depression, in their variou moods of bewilderment, humiliatior anger, or stunned indifference, reacted i much the same way. They were bitte about the existence of unemployment. Bu only a small minority among them looke upon it as a man-made thing, that coul be unmade by man's action and prevente by man's foresight.

That mood has largely gone toda When I say that I am not thinking abou economists, though in their thinking to the idea of full employment has occupie a focal role unknown to liberal economis prior to the thirties. I am thinking agai of the man in the street. He has learne his lesson not from J. M. Keynes, bu from the experience of the war.

He has seen with his own eyes the ca pacity of his own country not only to us its full resources, material and human, bu to expand them at breath-taking pace, an double the national income in four year All this happened to meet the nation war-time needs. And the average man car not see why it cannot happen to meet th nation's peace-time needs. The old que tion, "Where is the money coming from? used to stump him. Now it only ange him.

Perhaps the phrase "full employment sounds safely tame and academic — to commonplace an idea to have revolutior ary import. If so, its sound is deceptiv Any idea that can make large numbers c people angry is a dangerous one.

Not long ago I happened to be at gathering where a number of clever pe ple contemplated with hearty amusemer the prospect of keeping up our nation income after the war by making the sar quantity of munitions and dumping the in the Hudson Bay. When that prospe occurs to average people—and that is e actly the import of "full employment"— doesn't make them laugh. It makes the angry. Voltaire and his associates e joyed many a good laugh at the incor gruities of the ancien regime. The ave age Frenchman didn't laugh. That is wh there was a French Revolution, instead c more satires on the aristocracy.

There is a common denominator in ideas like "social security", "full employment", and others one could name. It is the average man's growing conviction that the productive resources of the community should be used for the common good—that is, to meet the needs of everyone in the community. That too may sound like platitude. But it is dangerous doctrine. When socially dangerous doctrine acquires the plausibility of a platitude one may expect profound changes in the offing.

The great revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries were guided by ideas of political freedom. The political power of privileged feudal minority had once appeared to the average man as obviously right. The time came when it struck him as obviously wrong. When that time came Europe was ripe for revolution.

Today it is the economic power of privileged minorities that is in question. Ideas like "social security" and "full employment" are the question marks. They express the average man's demand that the productive resources of the community should be controlled by the community to the extent of giving everybody a basic minimum of food, housing, clothing, schooling, medical care, etc.; *and* a job. They herald a profound change in the concept of productive property.

THE CHURCH AND POLITICAL ACTION

By KERMIT EBY

THE FORMATION of the National Citizens Committee for Political Action gives American men and women of liberal religious conviction a real vehicle for specific action. Through affiliation with the Committee and active participation in politics, we have the opportunity to move into an area of practical accomplishment. We have a chance to implement our resolutions, to give expression to our idealistic theories.

Action and participation are good. Too long we have felt frustration because we have had no progressive base on which to build. The organization of the Citizens Committee makes possible the mobilization of the American people for peace, freedom and security.

Before we can be truly effective, however, we must rid ourselves of preconceived notions of politics and politicians. Politicians are no more necessarily crooks than ministers are hypocrites or labor leaders are racketeers. We must cease emphasizing the popular misconception of the role of the politician, so that more and better people enter upon a career of politics. At present, according to the Denver Opinion Research Center, about seven out of ten American adults in all walks of life would not like to see a son of theirs go into politics.

We must reverse this trend, we must go into politics ourselves, if American democracy is to survive. Apathy on the part of its members is responsible for most cases of arbitrary control of a union, church or nation. Some of our most important decisions are made by our refusal to decide; some of our blackest lies are the result of our silence when the truth needs utterance.

The National Citizens Committee for Political Action is dedicated to the task of registering and getting out the vote. Those responsible for its policy believe that only as all eligible voters vote and all disenfranchised voters are given the right of franchise will we have the true expression of the people's will upon which the cause of democracy depends. The Committee regards the elimination of the poll tax, easy access to the ballot by soldiers, and grass-roots participation as necessary steps in the achievement of its program.

Nationally, the platform of the National Citizens Committee includes: The President's new Bill of Rights, full employment, adequate wages and decent living conditions for workers, protection of business from monopoly, medical care, and old age security.

To attain the above ends, the Committee insists upon the establishment of a National Planning Board responsible for the full use of our manpower, resources and productive capacity. Such a Board would enlist the cooperation of labor, management, agriculture and government through industry councils composed of representatives of each group.

The international platform of the Commitee includes: Support of the war effort, destruction of Fascism and achievement of world peace, protection of labor's gains during the last twelve years, establishment of an international organization for law and order, setting up of machinery making available

long-term credits to industrially backward nations without political strings so they may create an industrial economy which will raise living standards and provide economic security for their people, the right of asylum in the United States for persecuted minorities, and support of United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration.

War has demonstrated our enormous productive capacity. We must avail ourselves of the benefits of our capacity to produce a consume as peace comes.

No one group alone can achieve these ain Success will come through individual partic pation by every American citizen, throu the exercise of his democratic rights a duties. The National Citizens Committ for Political Action offers a people's progra and only the people can assure its fulfillme

JAPAN'S THEOCRACY

By TEHYI HSIEH

WHEREVER I have lectured recently the question invariably comes from the conviction of thinking leaders;—"Will the theocratic government of Japan be able to work, peacefully, after this war, side by side with the Republic of China?" Especially since Ambassador Grew has made public utterances to the effect that a Mikado, with peaceful attitude, may be persuaded to guide his people successfully in their relationship with other nations, should the evil forces of militarism be segregated from him. But any student of Far Eastern Affairs will regard this belief as ignoring basic political realities. Imperial Autocracy has survived in Japan because that country has always had a semi-feudal social and economic system. Those who have a vested interest in that system realize that they can only preserve it by maintenance of the myth of Emperor's divinity. How can that Emperor-worship become an asset if freed from military power? What authority of the Far East can deny that every Emperor, from the first to the present, has been, each, a militarist, himself. Behind this symbol of Shintoism are the greedy, powerful industrialists of Japan, who back the militarists, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Okura, Sumitomo, Yasuda, and the young Aikura (now in Java and the Philippines).

The statement of the Chinese side has been ably expressed by Dr. Sun Fo who pointed out in the *New York Times* (October 10, 1943) that the "divine" creation of the military caste must be swept away in order to discourage any future aggressive and notoriously treacherous Japan. Dr. Sun Fo says, "The Japanese empire must be overthrown and a Japanese republic set up in its place. It is only by th means that the peace of the world can b safeguarded. . . . The Japanese peopl once they are rid of their present rule who are bringing ruin and suffering an despair to countless homes in their ow land, will never want to undergo anoth war if they can exercise their will freel But they will not be able to go their wa so long as the Emperor remains a divin institution and the cult of Emperor-worsh a state religion.

"Of a democratic-republican Japan w need have no fear. On the contrary w shall be ready and willing to re-establis normal relations with a new Japan, revolu tionized after her defeat, whose govern ment will be democratically constituted an responsible to the Japanese people as whole. Such a new Japan must and wi take her rightful place among the worl community of law-abiding and peacefu nations."

The basic myth of modern Japan create the ideas of racial superiority, nation destiny, territorial expansion. The fanat belief of the Japanese in a divine Emperc descended from the Gods, destined to ru the World, would always be a real stun bling-block to any establishment of a go ernment in which we free people ma place our confidence.

I fear that there will always be tw worlds still in conflict after this war. Japa the world of yesterday, and China, th world of tomorrow. It is sufficient warnin to all who think seriously, that there a untold numbers of intelligent Japanese pe ple who will want to be liberated from th present neurotic suppression, and only wa for us to free them. If we do not do it w will suffer the consequences.

OO FEW CARPENTERS

y KOHELETH

—As long as church members approve and applaud the use of the strong arm of government to "put labor in its place," labor's place will not be in the church.

BEFORE Pearl Harbor most ministers of my acquaintance, and those who rote for the press, could see little that as reprehensible in either Fascism or Nazism. Indeed, many of them warmly ommended the vigorous procedure emloyed by the dictators in "putting labor n its place," and declared that is what e need more of here in the United States. Those same persons were specially grateful o the dictators for opposing Communism n Europe, and said it was thus being kept rom our shores. From the day war broke ut till December 7, 1941, they informed s there was no choice between the conestants, and it would make little differnce which side won. They were unable o discern any moral implications in the truggle, and were so obsessed with the dea of peace at any price that they failed o recognize peace is not in itself something worthwhile, but only valuable and permanent when the resultant of just and righteous conditions. They did not realize, where justice and righteousness are wanting, no amount of individual personal pacificism can possibly be a foundation for authentic and lasting peace. The utter confusion of thought among them, in some quarters, respecting the outcome of the conflict was disclosed by this inane counsel, "Christians should work and fight for victory, but they should not pray for it." That was the *cul-de-sac* in which numbers of religious leaders floundered, in an hour of supreme crisis in the history of Christianity and civilization. The church has not gained in influence or authority from such leadership.

In many cases these were the same ministers who in recent years were hostile and contemptuous towards the government's attempt to aid the workless and unemployed, describing it as "pampering the lazy and thriftless." They angrily asserted social security was no function of government. The agencies CCC and NYA, came in for particularly severe condemnation; a waste of tax-payers' money, babying youth, destroying self-reliance, undermining self-respect, and making young people soft and selfish. Those same youths are the lads who today are fighting amid the jungles of the islands of the southern Pacific, over the mountain ranges of Italy, and in the skies above the enslaved lands of Europe, and they are *not* soft or selfish. Among all the ministers I know, only three or four at most spoke favorably or approvingly of those efforts of government to ameliorate conditions for the unemployed and younger people of the nation. Deeply concerned these ministers were about their own security—witness the church pension systems they enthusiastically support in their own denominations — few revealed sympathy with the problem of social security for the commonalty. I have yet to hear a minister on the floor of any district, sectional or national gathering of my church, utter a word of commendation for the government's endeavor to establish better social security for the working people of our country, but I have heard caustic disapproval and sneering criticism. This is not a blanket indictment, I speak only about those I have personally known and worked with.

My experience with church members for fourscore years has proved conclusively, that conscious hypocrisy is practically nonexistent among them, popular opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. There are worldly church members, indifferent and careless, but deliberate hypocrisy is extremely rare. The denomination to which I belong recruits its members almost entirely from the so-called middle-class. We do not have any appreciable number of industrial workers, or from the leading rich in the community. From the underprivileged economic groups we have shamefully few members, this class is literally not touched by our church. I never served a congregation which did not have a banker on one or both of its official boards. They, with lawyers, doctors, teachers, businessmen and a scattering of white-collar workers and farmers, always constituted the officials. As a body, they were solid substantial con-

servative citizens in their political and economic theories, never left of center and well nigh unanimously reactionary, grading from mildly to aggressively so.

During the whole of my ministry there were but two members on any of the official boards, who could be called liberals by conviction, on questions having to do with economic and governmental theories —one was a college professor and the other was a practicing physician. Church members, by and large, are notoriously conservative, their support is given unreservedly to those who defend the status quo, or the only possible alternative, to those who promise a return to previous conditions. To an alarming extent they retain the most avid nostalgia for "former days," and the backward look holds them captive.

I do not know a congregation that would elect to any of its official boards, an economic liberal, if that fact were known about him. One of the disheartening conditions a minister is confronted with, is the absence among church members of any active desire for improvement in social and economic conditions for labor, as a group. Frequently well-to-do members have inquired of me, if I knew any poor person in need, or unfortunate, they wanted to be charitable—church members in the mass are—but any suggestion conditions should be changed, that poverty might thereby be lessened, was resented, and such proposals labelled socialistic. They found it easier to be generous than just.

The immense majority of church members identify Christianity with capitalism and for them socialism and sin are synonymous terms. Invariably when arguing for a correction of conditions, rather than the temporary palliative of charity, I was told in tones which tolerated no denial, "the poor ye shall have with you always." They thought they were quoting the Savior, but he left out the imperative. I am neither a socialist nor a communist, merely a minister who believes religion is not something that can, or ought to be heremetically sealed in one compartment of thought, while in another is isolated social and political theories, unrelated to devotional duties, or divorced from daily conduct.

Drawing near the age when retirement will be compulsory, I still remain deeply interested in the future of the church. That future is in dire jeopardy, unless the church ceases being a special class institution—which it largely is, at present. It must supply spiritual fellowship for all regardless of race, color, language, social political or financial standing, if it is to fulfill its proper functions, and survive in the centuries that lie ahead. As long as church members approve and applaud the use of the strong arm of government to "put labor in its place," labor's place will not be in the church. It was no lesser person than the founder of Christianity himself, who said, "come unto me all ye that labor . . .". Too easily is it forgotten that Jesus was a carpenter, not a capitalist. The churches today have many capitalists in them, they have too few carpenters.

A DIVISION BECAUSE OF HIM

By J. ROBERT BATH

A TRUISM concerning all those who have ever left the "middle of the road" and got off the "safe," if not too comfortable seat "on the fence," is the dual reaction of their fellows. Whenever a person takes a stand in a crisis, his friends and acquaintances are immediately divided into two groups. This social conflict is and has been one of the important truths of human life. Every social issue immediately divides society. This particular sort of division is a means of progress. The works of Karl Marx have to do with all the ramifications of this ever present social reality.

Social conflict is no less a fact in the Church than in other "societies." We do no good in talking as if unity were the character of the various social groups to which we belong; we are forced to act according to the truth, namely conflict.

Jesus was the great divider of men. In the first place, because of where and to whom Jesus was born, "there was a division because of Him," cf. John 7:37:52. Some said, "this is of a truth the prophet;" others shouted, "can any good come out of Galilee?"

hose who were "led astray" by the Carpenter nessed, "never man so spake"; while it reported of others, "Some of them would ve taken Him." Why out of that neck-the-woods ariseth no one of any account, u can't expect anything from that burgh. o we not know his father and mother and others and sisters?—and so some miss God's ft to brotherhood because of their mechantic expectation and their petty racialism.

Further, because Jesus ignored or opposed rtain customs and traditions which no nger served God or man, "there was a ivision among the people," cf. John 9:13:34. he group said, "this man is not of God, ecause He keepeth not the Sabbath"; anher group stated, "how can a man that is sinner do such things?" And so there was division. One group reported, "He is a rophet"; of another group it is recorded, They did not believe that he (who had been ured) had ever been blind." Why no one who doesn't believe and live as we do is of God—God wouldn't stop backing us, we must be right! But there was a division.

Also, there was a division because of His words and His actions, cf. John 10:7:39. One class said, "He is mad, why listen to Him"; another class said, "these are not a madman's words." He Himself stated, "the works that I do, these bear witness of Me"; but there was a class that "sought again to take Him." There was a division because of Him.

The plain truth is that "they," a particular social group, were on one side of important social issues and Jesus and the group the New Testament calls "the people," were on the other side—conflict was inevitable and Jesus behaved accordingly. Unity (brotherhood) comes through division; not by reconciling the opposing groups, but by the triumph of the right, it is God's way. And man is learning this difficult truth.

* * *

"THE BLACK RECORD OF CONGRESS"

The people should know the voting record of Congress on all issues vital to the people's welfare. The Labor Institute of America, 11 *W.* 42 *Street, New York* 18, *N. Y., has drawn up a chart which most interestingly portrays this record. It is a large chart and by means of colored squares shows clearly and quickly how the American people are and are not represented in Congress. This chart should be distributed in union halls, on church bulletin boards, everywhere. The title of the chart is "The Black Record of Congress."*

* * *

BOOKS RECEIVED

NO ROAD BACK, by Walter Mehring, Samuel Curl, Inc., $2.00

ONE MAN AIR FORCE, by Captain Don S. Gentile as told to Ira Wolfert, L. B. Fischer Publishing Corp., $1.25

A WORLD TO RECONSTRUCT, by Gonella-Bouscaren, Bruce Publishing Co., $3.50

PACIFIC BATTLE LINE, by Foster Hailey, The Macmillan Press, $3.50

THE QUEST OR MORAL LAW, by Louise Saxe Eby, Columbia University Press, $3.25

THE RISEN SOLDIER, by Francis J. Spellman, The Macmillan Co., $1.00

OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES, by Osmond K. Fraenkel, The Viking Press, $3.00

GERMANY AND EUROPE: A SPIRITUAL DISSENSION, by Benedetto Croce, Random House, $1.25

* * *

In our June issue, page 24, a passage from *Protestantism: A Symposium,* Commission on Courses of Study, the Methodist Church, 1944, was ascribed in error to William Ernest Hocking. The author of this passage is Mr. J. M. Batten.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Refuting Sly Whispers

To the Editor of THE PROTESTANT:

Passover, the Jewish Declaration of Independence, a holy week commemorating the exodus of the Jews from Egyptian slavery, began Friday evening (April 7) with a traditional service known as the Seder.

In thousands of Jewish homes throughout the nation a place of honor for the absent guest, the prophet Elijah, was set at the Seder dinner table. Likewise, in Jewish homes throughout the nation, places of honor were set for other absent guests—the thousands of Jewish servicemen and women, many of whom already had sacrificed their lives or limbs.

We are constrained to mention this only because in our midst there are native Fascist hate-mongers desperately attempting to obstruct the war effort by dividing the American people.

Just now these saboteurs are circulating evil and dangerous rumors to the effect that the Jews brought us into the war but are letting the Gentiles fight it; that only a small number of Jews are in the service and these are largely to be found in the non-combat branches.

There is much evidence that the rumors are being "planted" quite deliberately as part of an organized program.

The record of American Jews in World War I demonstrates that although they amounted to less than 3 per cent of the nation's population, more than 8 per cent of those awarded medals for valor were Jewish servicemen. Also out of proportion to the population was the number of Jewish servicemen killed or wounded in the last war.

The complete record of Jews in the present war cannot of course be assembled until after the armistice, but it has been authoritatively stated that the number of Jewish men and women participating in the four principal branches of the service far exceeds the 4 per cent which Jews now represent in the nation's population.

Already more than 2,500 Jews have received the Purple Heart or other awards for valor in this war.

A study of the casualty lists issued by the War Department provides additional proof that the rumors are false and slanderous.

Other evidence—more than enough to refute the sly whispers of the native fascist hate brigade—is contained in Massachusetts' Congressman James M. Curley's carefully documented report in the *Congressional Record* of March 31, 1944.

LEWIS BOOTH,
Chairman, Dayton Public Service League.

Christians Fall Away

I am surprised that folks in these days will criticize the Jews for the crucifixion of the Messiah. The New Testament clearly indicates it was but a small group of leaders (numerous leaders were not opposed such as Nicodemus) of the Jews who engineered His destruction, for the common people, the Word tells us, heard Him gladly. The trials were rushed by the leaders after several night sessions for fear of the common people. Tens of thousands of Jews accepted Jesus as the Messiah after the resurrection. All Jewish posterity should not be blamed for what was an attempted legal assassination. The Scriptural teaching is that Christ died for our sins; therefore, we all share in the blame of His death. Furthermore, the present day Christian can crucify Christ afresh by falling away (Heb. 6:6).

Wish you success.

H. E. WIDMER,
Paterson, N. J.

No If About It!

You have read in the papers that shuttle bombing has been going on between Italy and Russia. I was sitting at chow the other day with a heavy-bomb group that had lately returned from the Soviet Union and was amused, if infuriated, by the slick behavior of the Group Catholic Chaplain who came in and sat down among the enlisted men who, you know, are segregated from officers at meals, as if by happenstance.

The chaplain got to talking with them about Russia. I did not overhear the beginning of the conversation but the man next to me did, and it was his apparent, if suppressed rage, that drew my attention to it. The chaplain, in the socially charming, airy and ingratiating manner that he has, was going out of his way to mention a list of atrocities allegedly committed by the Russians against the Poles and against each other; telling tales of starvation and massacre inflicted (according to him) by the Soviets. He wound up with a jocular quotation: "Ah, if this be treason!"

It struck me as more than a coincidence that, on the occasion of the first American mission to Russia from Italy, a representative of the Catholic Church should have mingled with the returned crews and seen to it that, off the record and informally, the seeds of anti-Soviet propaganda were well planted.

Perhaps it's an extenuating circumstance that this chaplain is, I think, a Pole.

A LETTER FROM A G. I.
Somewhere in Italy.